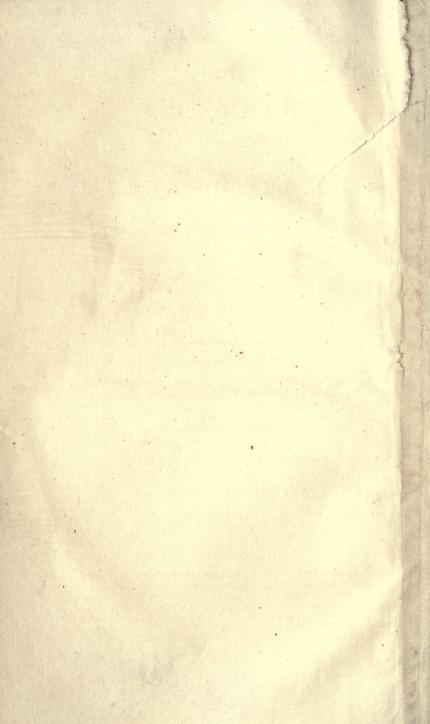






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#### HISTORY

OF

### GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

#### By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

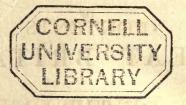
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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Book II

# HISTORY

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## GREAT BRITAIN.

tain, from the ond of the fird to the middle of the fourth century, it then began to decline, and

#### by various means (mantioned in the conclution BOOK II.

## chap. IV. Laring addressed

The history of learning in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449. to the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066.

THE history of learning in unlearned ages Cent. V. (like those we are now delineating) is Plan of naturally a barren and unpleasant subject, and this chapcan hardly be rendered both entertaining and instructive by any art. If the author contents himfelf with general observations, his work will not be instructive or satisfactory to the inquisitive; and if he enters deep into critical investigations, it will become tedious to the bulk of readers. In a general history, where learning is only one of many subjects introduced, it VOL. IV. feems

To other

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Cent. V.

feems most advisable to steer a middle course, and endeavour to give as much satisfaction to the learned as possible, without disgusting others. It will be necessary also, to prevent confusion in this period (which is long as well as dark), to divide it into the several centuries of which it consisted; giving a concise account,—of the state of learning,—of the most learned men,—and of the chief seminaries of learning,—in each of these centuries, in their natural order.

State of learning from A.D. 449 to. A.D. 500.

After learning had flourished in provincial Britain, from the end of the first to the middle of the fourth century, it then began to decline, and by various means (mentioned in the conclusion of the fourth chapter of the first book of this work) was reduced to a very languishing state, before the arrival of the Saxons . A few of the unhappy Britons, amidst all the calamities of their country, retained a love to learning, and endeavoured to cherish the expiring light of science; but their history is so blended with fables, by the ignorant zeal of those dark ages, in which nothing was thought great that was not incredible, that it is impossible to discover the real extent of their knowledge. How many strange stories, for example, are told of the birth, prophecies, and magical feats of the famous Merlin, which are not worth repeating, and proceeded from nothing but his possessing a greater degree of knowledge than his cotemporaries?

See vol. 2. p. 93, 94. Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p. 42.

Cent. V.

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The fame may be faid of Melchin, Magan, and feveral other British philosophers; who, having received their education in the Roman schools, were admired as magicians by their countrymen3. They knew more indeed of mechanics, natural philosophy, aftronomy, and some other parts of learning, than the age in which they lived was commonly acquainted with; though it is very probable, that their knowledge was not extensive. Some few of the Christian clergy also among the Britons, at this time, were a little more learned, or rather less ignorant, than their brethren, which hath procured them a place in the annals of their country. Among these, Illutus a presbyter, and Dubricius a bishop, both disciples of St. Germanus, were most distinguished. These two, by the direction of their mafter, established fchools for the education of youth; in which they prefided, with great honour to themselves and advantage to their country. Dubricius had the chief care of two of thefe feminaries of learning, fituated at Hentland and Mochrhos, on the river Wye, and fo well frequented, that they fometimes contained no fewer than a thousand fludents. Illutus taught with equal fuccess and reputation, at a place, from him called Lantwit, near Boverton in Glamorganshire. In these schools many of the greatest faints and most eminent prelates of those times received their education the doubt of the saw ened taki come

4 Carte's Hift. v.1. p. 185, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Leland de Script. Britan. t.1. p.41. 49.

Cent.V.

The Saxons enemies to
learning.

It is in vain to feek for learning, or learned men, among the Saxons, at their arrival in Britain. For though they were not abfolute strangers to the use of letters; yet, like all the other northern nations, they were so much addicted to plundering and piratical expeditions, that they utterly despised the peaceful pursuits of sciences. Their arrival, therefore, in this island, was so far from being savourable to the cause of learning, that the very last sparks of it were almost quite extinguished in all those parts of it where their arms prevailed; in which the most profound darkness reigned till after the introduction of Christianity.

State of learning in the fixth century among the Anglo-Saxons.

England was a scene of so much confusion and mifery in the fixth century, that learning could not be cultivated in it with any fuccess. For during the whole course of that century war raged with little intermission, the sword was hardly ever sheathed, and the ancient inhabitants, after a long and bloodyftruggle, were either extirpated, enflaved, or expelled their country. A great part of Britain had indeed been conquered by the Romans; but these polite and beneficent conquerors instructed and improved those whom they had fubdued. The Saxons, being a fierce, illiterate people, acted a very different part, and their destructive progress was marked with darkness and desolation. These observations are so true, that there was not fo much as one person

<sup>5</sup> Hickefii Thefaur. Præfat. ad. 1.2.

possessed of any degree of literary fame who cent. VI. flourished in England in the fixth century. In this difinal period, therefore, we must look for any little glimmerings of science that were still left in Britain, among the mountains of Wales and Caledonia. The second of the second of the second

Great numbers of British young men received Among a learned education in the schools established by the other British na-Dubricius and Illutus; but, despairing of entions. couragement, or even fafety, at home, the greatest part of them abandoned their native country, and fettled in different places of the continent, but chiefly in Britanny; where fome of them were advanced to the highest stations in the church. One of the most illustrious of these was Samfon who became Archbishop of Dole, and is faid to have been one of the most learned, as well as pious prelates, of the age in which he lived . Those scholars of Dubricius and Illutus who remained in Britain, prevented the total extinction of literature in this island, and are on that account entitled to a place in history; though we have no reason to suppose that their erudition was very great. Gildas the historian was one of these, and is the only British author of the fixth century whose works are published?. He was so much admired in the dark age in which he flourished, that he obtained the appellation of Gildas the Wife, though his works do not feem to entitle

Letter Loo

<sup>6</sup> Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p.69.

Histor. Britan. Script. 2 Gale edit. t. 1. p. 5.

Cent.VI

him to that distinction. His history of Britain is a very fhort jejune performance, only valuable for its antiquity, and from our total want of better information. His fatirical epiftle concerning the British princes and clergy of his own times, discovers him to have been a man of a gloomy, querulous disposition; for it is hardly possible to believe that they were all such odious miscreants as he represents them. The ftyle of both these works is very involved and tumid, and must give us a very unfavourable idea of the taste of that age in which such a writer was admired. St. Theleaus; St. David, the first bishop of Menevia, from him called St. David's; St. Afaph, the first bishop of the see of that name; Daniel, the first bishop of Bangor, and several other faints and bishops who flourished in Wales in this century, are faid to have been eminent for their learning as well as piety; and they probably were fo, according to the measure and tafte of the times in which they lived.

Among the Scots.

It hath been keenly disputed by the Scotch and Irish antiquaries, whether Columbanus, a learned monk and writer of the fixth century, was born in Scotland or Ireland. The truth seems to be, that there were two of that name, the one an Irishman, and bishop of Laghlin; the other a Scotchman, founder of the abbey of Luxevill in France, and of that of Bobio in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vide Leland, Bale, Pits de Script. Britan. Ware de Script. Hiber. t.1. Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 17.

Italy. This last was educated in the famous Cent. VI. monastery of Iona; from whence he went into France, A. D. 589, accompanied by twelve other monks, and there founded the abbey of Luxevill, near Befançon, which he governed about twenty years with great reputation. When he was in this flation, he was attacked by the Pope, Gregory the Great, for observing Easter at a different time from the church of Rome, and wrote feveral letters and tracts in defence of his own practice, and that of his country. He composed for the government of his own monks, a fystem of laws, which were fo fevere, that if any of them fmiled in the time of divine fervice, he was to receive fifty lashes with a whip. By another of these laws, his monks were obliged to meet three times every night in the church, and at each time to fing thirty-fix pfalms and twelve anthems. If they regularly observed this rule, they would not be much disposed to smile. Theodoric King of France was for some time a great admirer of Columbanus; but that auftere abbot at length offended him fo much by the feverity of his reproofs, that the prince obliged him to quit the kingdom. After spending a few years in Switzerland, in labouring, with fome fuccefs, to convert the people to Christianity, he retired in his old age into Lombardy; where he founded the abbey of Bobio, in which he died A. D. 615.9 It feems to be quite unnecessary to swell this part they from to laye been incapable either of fei-

Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 17. Murat. Antiq. t. 3. p. 826.

Cent. VI. of our work with a more particular account of the literati of this most unhappy and benighted age. For though some of them might be men of real genius; yet the wretched taste of the times in which they lived, the great difficulty of procuring good books and good mafters, with many other difadvantages under which they laboured, prevented their arriving at much excellence in any of the sciences. The truth is, that the only parts of learning that were much cultivated by the British and Scotch clergy of this century were, - the Latin language, - polemical divinity, and ecclefiaftical law; and a very fmall portion of these was sufficient to procure any one the character of a very learned man.

State of learning in the feventh century among the Anglo-Saxons.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Chriftianity, in the course of the seventh century, contributed not a little to enlighten their minds, and promote the interests of learning, as well as of religion in England. Before that event, there was no fuch thing as learning, or any means of obtaining it, in that part of Britain which they inhabited, which was involved in the most profound darkness. Their ancient religion was groß and irrational in its principles, cruel and fanguinary in its ceremonies, and had a tendency to inspire them with nothing but a brutal contempt of death, and a favage delight in war. As long, therefore, as they continued in the belief and practice of that wretched superstition, they feem to have been incapable either of fcience or civility; but by their conversion to Chriftianity.

101

tianity, they became accessible to both. It must Cent. VII. indeed be confessed, that the system of Christianity in which the Anglo-Saxons were inftructed at their conversion was far from being pure and genuine; but still it contained many valuable discoveries, concerning—the perfections and providence of the one living and true God,the nature of religious worship, - and the rules of moral conduct, to which they had been abfolute strangers. By their embracing Christianity, they were naturally led to enquiries and speculations on these and various other subjects, which could not fail both to enlighten and enlarge their minds, and render them capable both of literary and religious improvements. Before their conversion to Christianity, the Anglo-Saxons feem to have had little or no intercourse except in the way of hostility, with any other nations who could inftruct or civilize them; but by that event a friendly communication was opened between them and Rome, which was then the chief feat of learning in Europe. Befides all this, fuch of the first Anglo-Saxon converts as defigned to embrace the clerical profession (of which there were many), were obliged to apply to some parts of learning, to qualify themfelves for that office; and it became necessary to provide schools for their instruction. The truth of these observations is confirmed by many unquestionable facts, which prove, that the English " Parator, Action to a solidar a Director Hill Enterior, to

10 Murator. Antiq. t. 3. p. 810.

Cent. VII.

began to pay some attention to learning (which they had before neglected) as foon as they were converted to Christianity. The first Christian king in England was the first English legislator who committed his laws to writing ". Sigbert King of the East-Angles, immediately after his conversion, founded a famous school for the education of youth in his dominions, A. D. 630. after the model of those which he had seen in France, and at Canterbury, whence he brought teachers 12. In a word, some of the English clergy in the end of this and in the next century, became famous for their learning, and were admired by all Europe as prodigies of erudition 13. So great and happy a change did the introduction of Christianity, though not in its pureft form, produce in the mental improvements of our ancestors.

Life of Aldhelm. Though the English began to apply to learning in the former part of the seventh century, yet it was near the conclusion of it before any of them acquired much literary fame. Aldhelm, a near relation, if not the nephew, of Ina, King of the West-Saxons, was the first who did so. Having received the first part of his education in the school which one Macdulf, a learned Scot, had set up in the place where Malmsbury now stands, he travelled into France and Italy

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Wilkin's Leges Saxon. 22 Bed. Hift. Ecclef.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 3. col. 618. Bruckeri Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 574.

Theodore

for his improvement 14. At his return home, Cent. VII. he studied some time under Adrian, abbot of St. Augustin's in Canterbury, the most learned professor of the sciences who had ever been in England 15. In these different seminaries he acquired a very uncommon flock of knowledge, and became famous for his learning, not only in England, but in foreign countries; whence feveral learned men fent their writings for his perufal and correction; particularly prince Arcivil, a fon of the King of Scotland, who wrote many pieces, which he fent to Aldhelm, " in-" treating him to give them the last polish, by " rubbing off their Scotch rust 16." He was the first Englishman who wrote in the Latin language both in profe and verfe, and composed a book for the instruction of his countrymen in the profody of that language. Besides this, he wrote feveral other treatifes on various fubjects: fome of which are loft, and others published by Martin Delrio and Canifius 17. Venerable Bede, who flourished in the end of this and the beginning of the next century, gives the following character of Aldhelm: " He was a man of uni-" verfal erudition, having an elegant ftyle, and " being wonderfully well acquainted with books, " both on philosophical and religious subjects"." King Alfred the Great declared, that Aldhelm was the best of all the Saxon poets, and that a

14 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 2, 3. 15 Id. ibid. 16 Id. ibid.

17 Cave Hift. Literar. Secul. A.D. 680.

18 Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.5. c. 18.

Cent. VII.

favourite fong, which was univerfally fung in his time, near two hundred years after its author's death, was of his composition. When he was abbot of Malmsbury, having a fine voice, and great skill in music as well as poetry, and observing the backwardness of his barbarous countrymen to listen to grave instructions, he composed a number of little poems, which he sung to them after mass in the sweetest manner; by which they were gradually instructed and civilized? After this excellent person had governed the monastery of Malmsbury, of which he was the founder, about thirty years, he was made Bishop of Shereburn, where he died, A.D. 709. 21

Life of Theodore. Though Theodore, who was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury A. D. 668. was not an Englishman by birth; yet as he contributed so much to the introduction and improvement of learning in England, he merits out grateful remembrance in this place. This excellent prelate, who was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and one of the most learned men of his age, being promoted by the Pope to the government of the infant-church of England, and informed of the gross and general ignorance of the people of that country, resolved to promote the interest of useful learning amongst them, as the most effectual means of promoting that of true reli-

enimoval:

Ball, 1980. Ecclet. Lg. c. 7 &

Anglia Sacra, t.2. p.4.

<sup>21</sup> Id. ibid. p. 23:

<sup>∞</sup> Id. ibid. p.9.

gion. With this view he brought with him from Cent. VII. Rome a valuable collection of books, and feveral profesfors of the sciences, particularly Abbot Adrian, to affift him in the education of the English youth 22. This scheme, as we learn from Bede, was crowned with the greatest success. "Thefe two great men (Theodore and Adrian), " excelling in all parts of facred and civil learn-" ing, collected a great multitude of scholars, " whom they daily instructed in the sciences, " reading lectures to them on poetry, aftronomy, " and arithmetic, as well as on divinity and the "holy fcriptures." 23 and many omor to lavor

and studied in England in the seventh century, studied in this cenwhen learning was in its infancy, we cannot turn. fuppose to have been very large, though it was not really fo confined as we might, on a fuperficial view, imagine. Grammar, particularly that of the Greek and Latin languages, was taught and studied with much diligence and no little fuccess. Venerable Bede affures us, that he had converfed with fome of the fcholars of Theodore and Adrian, who understood Greek and Latin as well as they did their native tongue 24. It is evident from the works of Aldhelm, which are still extant, that he had

The circle of the sciences that were taught sciences

unisilben:

read the most celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, and that he was no contemptible critic

compositions of words and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cave Hift. Lit. Sec. 7. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1. 4. c. 2.

Cent. VII in the languages in which these authors wrote. The testimony of a cotemporary, well acquainted with the subject, is always most fatisfactory, when it can be obtained; and therefore the reader will not be displeased with the following account given by Aldhelm himself, in a letter to Hedda bishop of Winchester, of the sciences which he and others studied in the school of Canterbury. "I confess, most reverend father, "that I had refolved, if circumftances would se permit, to fpend the approaching Christmas " in the company of my relations, and to en-" joy, for fome time, the felicity of your conversation. But fince I now find it will be " impossible for me to accomplish that design, " for various reasons, which the bearer of this 66 letter will communicate, I hope you will have " the goodness to excuse my not waiting upon " you as I intended. The truth is, that there is a necessity for spending a great deal of time 66 in this feat of learning, especially for one who is inflamed with the love of reading, and is earnestly desirous, as I am, of being intimately acquainted with all the fecrets of the "Roman jurisprudence. Besides, there is ano-"ther fludy in which I am engaged, which is " ftill more tedious and perplexing, - to make " myself master of all the rules of a hundred " different kinds of verses, and of the musical " modulations of words and fyllables. This " fludy is rendered more difficult, and almost " inextricable, by the great fcarcity of able " teachers. CEL

" teachers. But it would far exceed the bounds Cent. VII. " of a familiar letter to explain this matter " fully, and lay open all the fecrets of the art " of metre, concerning letters, fyllables, poetic " feet and figures, verses, tones, time, &c. " Add to this the doctrine of the feven divi-" fions of poetry, with all their variations, and " what number of feet every different kind of " verse must consist of. The perfect knowledge " of all this, and feveral other things of the like " kind, cannot, I imagine, be acquired in a " fhort space of time. But what shall I say of arithmetic, whose long and intricate calcula-" tions are fufficient to overwhelm the mind, " and throw it into despair? For my own part, " all the labour of my former studies, by which "I had made myfelf a complete mafter of fe-" veral sciences, was trifling, in comparison of " what this cost me; fo that I may say with St. " Jerome, upon a fimilar occasion, - Before I " entered upon that fludy, I thought myfelf a mafter; but then I found I was but a learner. " - However, by the bleffing of God, and af-" fiduous reading, I have at length overcome " the greatest difficulties, and found out the " method of calculating suppositions, which are " called the parts of a number. I believe it " will be better to fay nothing at all of aftro-" nomy, the zodiac, and its twelve figns revolving in the heavens, which require a long " illustration, than to disgrace that noble art by " too fhort and imperfect an account; especially

Cent. VII.

" as there are some parts of it, as astrology, and " the perplexing calculation of horoscopes, which " require the hand of a master to do them jus-" tice 25." This account of the studies of the youth of England who applied to learning, as it was written by one of themselves, exactly eleven hundred years ago, is really curious, though we have no reason to conclude that it contains a complete enumeration of all the sciences that were then cultivated in England, but only of those in the study of which the writer was then engaged. Archbishop Theodore read lectures on medicine; but Bede hath preserved one of his doctrines, which doth not ferve to give us a very high idea of his knowledge in that art, viz. "That it was very dangerous to perform phlebo-" tomy on the fourth day of the moon; because " both the light of the moon, and the tides of " the fea, were then upon the increase 26." Mufic, logic, rhetoric, &c. were then taught and studied; but in so imperfect a manner, that it is unnecessary to be more particular in our account of them.

Seminaries As the youth in those parts of England which of learning. had embraced the Christian religion, began to apply to learning with fome eagerness in the feventh century, feveral fchools were then eftablished for their instruction. One of the most illustrious of those schools was that of Canterbury, founded by Augustin, the apostle of the

<sup>25</sup> Anglia Sacra, t.2. p.6, 7. 26 Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.5. c.3. English,

English, and his companions, and greatly im- cent. VII. proved by Archbishop Theodore 27. In this school a library was also founded, and enriched from time to time with many valuable books, brought from Rome by Augustin, Theodore, and others: and here the greatest part of the prelates and abbots who flourished in England in this century received their education. Sigbert, who was advanced to the throne of East-Anglia, A.D. 631. having lived fome years an exile in France, was there converted to Chriftianity, and instructed in several branches of learning, for which he had a taste. After his accession to the throne of his ancestors, he laboured with great earnestness to promote the conversion and instruction of his subjects. With this view, he instituted a school in his dominions, in imitation of those which he had feen in France and at Canterbury; from which laft place he was furnished with profesfors by Archbishop Honorius, who approved of the design28. As the place where this ancient feminary of learning was established is not mentioned by Bede, it hath been the occasion of a controversy between the two famous universities of England; the advocates for the fuperior antiquity of the one contending that it was at Cambridge, while those who favour the other think it more probable that it was at Dumnoc (Dunwich), which was the

<sup>27</sup> Bedæ Opera a J. Smith edita, Append. No. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Bed. Hist. Eccles. 1. 3. c. 18.

Cen .VII. capital of that little kingdom, and also the feat of its bishops 29. "Non nostrum est tantas com-" ponere lites." The learned reader would be furprifed, if he heard nothing in this place of the two famous schools of Creeklade and Lechlade, which are faid to have been founded by the companions of Brute the Trojan, to have flourished through many ages, and to have been transferred to Oxford (nobody can tell how or when), and to have given birth to that celebrated university 30. But it would be very improper to fwell this work with a heap of fabulous tales, equally abfurd and contradictory. Several monafteries were founded in different parts of England in the course of this century; and in each of these a school was opened for the education of youth: fo that, as Bede observes, "these were happy and enlightened times, in " comparison of those which had preceded "them; for none wanted teachers who were " willing to be instructed 31." In one of these monasteries, Bede himself, the great luminary of England, and of the Christian world, in the end of this and beginning of the next century, had his education.

Learned Britons and Scots.

The flate of learning among the Scots and Britons was much the fame in this as it had been in the former century; and feveral persons not

<sup>29</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1. 3. c. 18. Append. No. 14.

<sup>30</sup> A. Wood, Hift. Univ. Oxon. p. 4-6.

Bed. Hift. Ecclef. l. 4. c. 2.

Scarelty

of books

unlearned, according to the measure of the times Cent. VII. in which they lived, flourished in both countries in this period. Dinothus, who was abbot of the famous monastery of Bangor in Flintshire, and flourished in the beginning of this century, is faid to have been a man of uncommon eloquence and learning; and as fuch was chosen by the British clergy to be their advocate in a conference with Augustin Archbishop of Canterbury, and his clergy A. D. 601.; a choice which feems to have been well made. When Augustin pressed the British clergy to make their submisfions to the Pope, and acknowledge himfelf as their archbishop, Dinothus replied, with much fpirit and good fense, "Be it known unto you "with certainty, that we are all willing to be "obedient and fubject to the church of God, to " the Pope of Rome, and to every good Chrif-" tian, as far as to love every one in his degree, " in perfect charity, and to help every one of " them by word and deed to be the children of "God; and other obedience than this I do not know to be due to him whom ye call the " pope; and this obedience we are ready to pay " to him, and to every Christian, continually. "Befides, we are already under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon, who is our spi-" ritual guide under God 32." Nennius Abbot of Banchor, who wrote a history of the Britons, which hath been often printed, Kentegern, les in Torolord in Abla cent

32 Spelman. Concil. t.1, b.108.

cent. VII. founder of the church of Glasgow, and several others of the same class, flourished among the Scots and Britons in this century; but none of them appear to have been fo eminent for their learning as to merit a place in the general history of their country. It is only proper to observe, that after the destruction of the famous monastery of Banchor, A. D. 613. which had been a kind of university for the education of the British youth, learning declined very fensibly among the posterity of the ancient Britons; which, together with the increasing miseries of their country, is the reason that we shall henceforth meet with very few of that unhappy people who were eminent for their learning.

Scarcity of books in this century.

One thing that greatly retarded the progress of learning among the English, and made the acquifition of literary knowledge extremely difficult in this century, was the prodigious fcarcity of books, which had been either carried away by the Romans, or fo entirely destroyed by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, that it is a little uncertain whether there was fo much as one book left in England before the arrival of Augustin. Nor was this deficiency eafily fupplied, as there was a necessity of bringing them all from foreign countries, and chiefly from Rome, where they could not be procured without great difficulty, and a most incredible expence. One example will be fufficient to give the reader fome idea of the price of books in England in this century. Benedict Biscop, founder of the monastery of Were-

Weremouth in Northumberland, made no fewer Cent.VII. than five journies to Rome to purchase books. vessels, vestments, and other ornaments, for his monaftery; by which he collected a very valuable library; for one book out of which (a volume on cosmography), King Aldfred gave him an estate of eight hides, or as much land as eight ploughs could labour 33. This bargain was concluded by Benedict with the King a little before his death, A. D. 690.; and the book was delivered, and the estate received by his successor Abbot Ceolfred. At this rate, none but kings, bishops, and abbots, could be possessed of any books; which is the reason that there were then no fchools but in kings' palaces, bishops' feats. or monasteries. This was also one reason why learning was then wholly confined to princes, priefts, and a very few of the chief nobility.

The eighth century feems, upon the whole, to cent. VIII. have been the most dark and dismal part of that State of long night of ignorance and barbarifm that fucceeded the fall of the Roman empire. This is continent acknowledged by all the writers of literary hif- in the eighth tory, who represent the nations on the continent century. as in danger of finking into the favage state, and losing the small remains of learning that had hitherto subfifted amongst them 34. Even at Rome, which had long been the feat of learning, as well as empire, the last glimmerings of

<sup>33</sup> Bed. Hift. Abbat, Wermuthen. edit. a J. Smith, p. 297, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Bruckeri Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 571.

Cent. VIII. the lamp of science were on the point of expiring, and the pretended literati wrote in the most barbarous manner, without regarding the plaineft rules of grammar, using such phrases as these: - Ut inter eis dissensio fiat, et divisis inveniantur, - Una cum omnes Benebentani, &c. 35. France was still in a worse condition, if possible, in this respect: for when Charlemagne, as we are told by one of his historians, began to attempt the reftoration of learning, A. D. 787. the fludy of the liberal arts had quite ceafed in that kingdom, and he was obliged to bring all his teachers from other countries 36. We may judge, that the flate of learning in Spain, at this time, was no better, by their being obliged to make canons against ordaining men priests or bishops who could neither read, nor sing pfalms<sup>37</sup>. This deplorable decline of learning on the continent was partly owing to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, and the incursions of the Saracens in France and Spain, and partly to a wrong turn that had been given to the studies of the clergy in all these countries. Ever fince the reformation that had been made in the music of the church by Gregory the Great, in the end of the fixth and the beginning of the feventh century, great attention had been given to that art, till by degrees it became almost the only thing to which the clergy applied, to the total neglect of all feverer studies. A great number of treatifes

36 Id. ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 3. p. 811.

<sup>37</sup> Bruckeri Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 571.

were written by the fathers of the church on Cent. VIII. this fubject, and the best finger was esteemed the most learned man 35. When Charlemagne vifited Rome, A. D. 786. the French clergy in his retinue were fo proud of their own finging, that they challenged the Roman clergy to a mufical combat. The Romans, after calling the French fools, ruftics, blockheads, and many other ill names, accepted the challenge, and obtained a complete victory, to the great mortification of their antagonifts. 39

When the muses were thus expelled from all State of the countries on the continent, they found an learning in England afylum in the British Isles, where several persons in this applied to the fludy of the sciences, with great century. ardour, and no little fuccess. The schools established by Archbishop Theodore at Canterbury. and by King Sigbert in East-Anglia, had produced fome good fcholars; who being advanced to the highest stations, both in church and state, became great encouragers of learning; which, having all the charms of novelty, was purfued by feveral ingenious men with uncommon diligence. Ina King of Wessex, Offa King of Mercia, Aldfrid King of Northumberland, and feveral other princes who flourished in this period, were great patrons of learning and learned men. who enjoyed much tranquillity, and were furnished with books, in the monasteries that were

<sup>38</sup> Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. t. 1. p. 644.

<sup>39</sup> Launoius de Scholis Celeb. c. 1. p. 3.

Cent. VIII. then founded. All these circumstances concurring, occasioned a transient gleam of light to arise in England in the eighth century; which, it must be confessed, would not have appeared very bright, if it had not been both preceded and followed by fuch profound darkness. It was to this period that Alfred the Great alludes in the following passages of his famous letter to Wulfseg Bishop of London: "I must inform " you, my dear friend, that I often revolve in " my mind the many learned and wife men who " formerly flourished in the English nation, both " among the clergy and laity. How happy were those times! Then the princes governed their " fubjects with great wisdom, according to the word of God, and became famous for their " wife and upright administration. Then the " clergy were equally diligent in reading, flu-" dying, and teaching; and this country was fo " famous for learning, that many came hither " from foreign parts to be instructed. Then " (before all was spoiled and burnt) the churches and monafteries were filled with 's libraries of excellent books in feveral lan-" guages. - When I reflected on this, I fome-"times wondered that those learned men, who " were fpread over all England, had not tranf-" lated the best of these books into their native " tongue. But then I prefently answered my-" felf, that those wife men could not imagine, " that ever learning would be fo much neglected of as to make this necessary, and believed, that " the

" the more languages were understood, the more Cent. VIII. " learning would abound in any country 40." To give the reader a just idea of the state of learning in this period, of which this great prince entertained fo high an opinion, it will be necessary to give a short sketch of the personal hiftory, and learned labours of a few who were most eminent for their erudition, and from their works to collect what sciences were then cultivated, and to what degree of perfection they were brought. The planting the belong to the red

Tobias Bishop of Rochester, who flourished in Life of the beginning of this century, after having Bishop of studied several years in the monastery of Glasson- Rochester. bury, finished his education at Canterbury, under Archbishop Theodore, and his coadjutor Abbot Adrian. In this famous school, as we are told by his cotemporary Bede, he made great proficiency in all parts of learning, both civil and ecclefiaftical: and the Greek and Latin languages became as familiar to him as his native tongue 41: an attainment not very common in more enlightened times. All the works of this learned prelate perished in the subsequent depre-

Beda the presbyter, commonly called venerable Life of Bede, though he never attained to any higher Bede. flation in the church than that of a fimple monk, was the great luminary of England, and of the

dations of the Danes. 42

<sup>4</sup>º Spelman, Vita Elfredi, Append. No. 3. p. 196.

<sup>41</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.5. c. 23.

<sup>42</sup> Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p.91.

Cent. VIII. Christian world, in this century. This excellent person was born at Weremouth, in the kingdom of Northumberland, A. D. 672. and educated in the monastery of St. Peter, founded at that place about two years after his birth, by the famous Benedict Biscop, one of the most learned men and greatest travellers of his age 43. Bede enjoyed great advantages in this monastery for the acquifition of knowledge; having the use of an excellent library, which had been collected by the founder of his travels, and the affiftance of the best masters. Abbot Benedict himself, Ceolfred his fucceffor, and St. John of Beverley, were all his preceptors, and took much pleafure in teaching one who profited fo much by their inftructions 44. These favourable circumstances concurring with an excellent genius, an ardent thirst for knowledge, and unwearied diligence in the pursuit of it, enabled him to make uncommon progrefs. Being no less pious than he was learned, he was ordained a deacon in the nineteenth year of his age, by John of Beverley, then Bishop of Hexham, afterwards Archbishop of York. It feems to have been about this time that he removed from the monastery of St. Peter's at Weremouth, where he had been educated, to that of St. Paul's at Iarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne, then newly founded by the same Benedict. In this monastery of Iarrow he spent

mothers.

<sup>43</sup> Bed. ad fin. Epitom. Hift. Eccles. et in Vita Abbat. Weremouth.

<sup>44</sup> Bale de Script. Britan. p.94.

the remainder of his life, employing all his time Cent. VIII. (as he himself acquaints us) in performing the offices of devotion in the church, teaching, reading, and writing.45. At the age of thirty, A. D. 702, he was ordained a priest by the same pious prelate from whom he had received deacon's orders 46. Though Bede contented himfelf with living in a humble flation, in a little monaftery, and obscure corner of the world, the fame of his learning had by this time spread over all Europe, and the fovereign pontiff was defirous of his company and advice in the government of the church. This appears from the following paffage of a letter from Pope Sergius to Ceolfred Abbot of Weremouth and Iarrow: - " Some " questions have arisen concerning ecclesiastical " affairs, which require the most serious exami-" nation of men of the greatest learning. I there-" fore befeech and require you, by the love of "God, by your regard to religion, and by the " obedience which you owe to the universal " church, that you do not refuse to comply with " our prefent requisition, but, without delay, " fend to the apostles Peter and Paul, and to me " Beda, the pious fervant of God, a prefbyter " in your monastery. You may depend upon " it, that he shall be fent back to you, as foon " as the folemnities of these consultations are "happily ended. Confider, I befeech you, that "whatever good may, on this occasion, be

<sup>4&#</sup>x27; Bed. ad fin. Epit. Hift. Ecclef.

<sup>46</sup> Id. ibid.

Cent. VIII.

" done to the universal church, by means of his " excellent wisdom, will redound particularly to " the honour and advantage of you and your " monastery 47." A noble testimony of the high opinion that was entertained of the wifdom and learning of our humble presbyter in the court of Rome. It is evident, however, from Bede's own testimony, that he did not go to Rome in confequence of this requisition, which was probably owing to the death of Pope Sergius, which happened foon after he had written the above letter45. The industry of this excellent person in acquiring knowledge was fo very great, that he made himself master of every branch of literature that it was possible for any man to acquire in the age and circumftances in which he lived; nor was his diligence in communicating this knowledge, both to his cotemporaries and to posterity, less remarkable. This appears from the prodigious number of works which he composed, on fo great a variety of subjects, that we may almost venture to affirm they contain all the learning that was then known in the world. These works have been often published in different cities of Europe, as Paris, Bafil, Cologne, &c.; but never in any part of Britain, to which the author was fo great an honour. The only complete edition of Beda's works that I have had an opportunity of examining is that at Cologne, A.D.

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<sup>47</sup> G. Malmf. de Gest. Reg. Angl. l.1. c.3.

<sup>48</sup> See Biographia Britannica, artic. Beda.

Reignage .

Hode, Set

1612. in eight volumes in folio. It would re- cent. VIII. quire a large work to give the reader even an imperfect idea of the erudition contained in these volumes; and therefore he must be contented with the catalogue of the feveral treatifes contained in them, which he will find in the Appendix 49. This will at least make him acquainted with the fubjects on which this great man employed his pen. Many writers, both ancient and modern, have bestowed the highest encomiums on the genius and learning of Bede. " How " much (fays one of the best judges of literary " merit) was Beda diftinguished amongst the "British monks, who, to fay the truth, was " not only the most learned of them, but, the " age in which he lived confidered, of the whole " western world 50," This character, so honourrable to Bede, is confirmed by many perfons of the greatest name in the republic of letters; while fome few have spoke of him in a strain not quite fo favourable 51. But these last appear plainly not to have confidered the flate of the times in which he lived, and the difadvantages under which he laboured, comparing him, not with his own cotemporaries, but with the learned men of the last and present century; which is unjust. After this modest and humble presbyter, the great ornament of his age and of his country, had fpent a long life in the diligent pursuit and communication of useful knowledge, and in the

51 Biograph. Britan. art. Beda, not. N.O.

<sup>49</sup> Append. No.4. 50 Conrin. de Antiquit. Acad. Dissert. 3.

Cent. VIII. practice of every virtue, he died in his cell at Iarrow, in a most devout and pious manner, May 26. A. D. 735. 52 The greatest blemish, or rather weakness, of this great man, was his credulity, and too eafy belief of the many legendary flories of miracles which he hath inferted in his ecclefiaftical history: but this was fo much the character of the age in which he lived, that it required more than human fagacity and strength of mind to guard against it. He was called the wife Saxon by his cotemporaries. and venerable Beda by posterity; and as long as great modesty, piety, and learning, united in one character, are the objects of veneration amongst mankind, the memory of Beda must be revered. May the spiritual hard and a series of the series

Decline of learning after the death of Bede.

The remarkable decline of learning in England after the death of Beda is painted in very ftrong colours by one of the best of our ancient historians. " The death of Beda was fatal to " learning, and particularly to hiftory, in Eng-" land; infomuch that it may be faid, that " almost all knowledge of past events was buried " in the same grave with him, and hath con-" tinued in that condition even to our times. "There was not fo much as one Englishman " left behind him, who emulated the glory " which he had acquired by his fludies, imitated " his example, or purfued the path to know-" ledge which he had pointed out. A few in-

Sautoria

<sup>52</sup> Simeon Dunelm. 1.3. c.7. W. Malmf. 1.1. c.3.

" deed of his furvivors were good men, and not Cent. VIII. " unlearned; but they generally fpent their " lives in an inglorious filence; while the far " greatest number funk into sloth and ignorance, " until by degrees the love of learning was quite " extinguished in this island for a long time 53." Several other causes, besides the death of Beda, contributed to bring on this deplorable ignorance and neglect of learning; particularly, frequent civil wars, and the destructive depredations of the Danes; who, being Pagans, destroyed the monafteries, burnt their libraries, and killed or dispersed the monks, who were the only students in those unhappy times.

A few of the friends of Beda, who furvived him, Lives of supported the declining interests of learning for a Acca little time, and on that account are entitled to a Hexham, place in this part of our work. The most con- and Egfiderable of these was Acca Bishop of Hexham, bishop of and Egbert Archbishop of York. Both these York. prelates were good scholars for the times in which they flourished, generous patrons of learning and learned men, and great collectors of books. Acca excelled in the knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of the church, and in church-music; both which branches of learning, then in the highest esteem, he acquired at Rome 54. Egbert, who was brother to Eadbert King of Northumberland, founded a noble library at York, for the advancement of learning. Alcuinus, who

Bifhop of

cent. VIII. was his pupil, and the keeper of this library, fpeaks of it in feveral of his letters, as one of the most choice and valuable collections of books then in the world. In a letter to Eambald, a fucceffor of Egbert in the fee of York, he expresseth himfelf in this manner: "I thank God, my most " dear fon, that I have lived to fee your exalta-" tion to the government of that church in which "I was educated, and to the custody of that " inestimable treasure of learning and wisdom " which my beloved mafter Archbishop Egbert " left to his fucceffors 55." " O that I had (fays " he in a letter to the Emperor Charlemagne) " the use of those admirable books on all parts " of learning which I enjoyed in my native " country, collected by the industry of my be-" loved mafter Egbert. May it please your " imperial Majesty, in your great wisdom, to " permit me to fend some of our youth to " transcribe the most valuable books in that " library, and thereby transplant the flowers of "Britain into France 56." It may be some satisfaction to the learned reader to perufe the poetical catalogue of this ancient library, which he will find below. 57

Alcuinus,

<sup>55</sup> W. Malmf. l. r. c. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Alcuinus's Catalogue of Archbishop Egbert's library at York.

Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum;

Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,

Græcia vel quidquid transmist clara Latinis:

Hæbraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,

Alcuinus, the writer of these epistles, flourished Cent. VIII. in the latter part of this century, and was very famous for his genius and erudition. He was Alcuinus. born in the north of England, and educated at York, under the direction of Archbishop Egbert, as we learn from his own letters, in which he frequently calls that great prelate his beloved mafter, and the clergy of York the companions of his youthful studies 58. As he survived venerable Bede about feventy years, it is hardly possible that he could have received any part of his education under him, as some writers of

Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit. Quod Pater Hieronymus, quod fensit Hilarius, atque Ambrofius Præful, fimul Augustinus, et ipse Sanctus Athanafius, quod Orofius edit avitus: Quidquid Gregorius fummus docet, et Leo Papa; Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruscant, Caffiodorus item, Chryfostomus atque Johannes; Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quid Beda Magister, Quæ Victorinus scripsere, Boëtius; atque Historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipfe. Acer Aristoteles, Rhetor atque Tullius ingens; Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvencus; Alcuinus, et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator, Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt; Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor Artis grammaticæ, vel quid scripsere magistri: Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Prifcianufye, Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Commenianus. Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem Egregios studiis, arte et sermone magistros, Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu : Nomina fed quorum præfenti in carmine scribi Longius est visum, quam plectri postulet usus. Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccl. Ebor. apud Gale, t. 1. p. 730.

<sup>53</sup> Epistolæ Alcuini, apud Lectiones Antiquas Canisii, t.2. p.409.

cont. ym, literary history have affirmed; and it is worthy of observation, that he never calls that great man his mafter, though he speaks of him with the highest veneration 59. It is not well known to what preferments he had attained in the church before he left England, though fome fay he was Abbot of Canterbury 60. The occasion of his leaving his native country, was his being fent on an embaffy by Offa King of Mercia, to the Emperor Charlemagne, who contracted fo great an efteem and friendship for him, that he earnestly solicited, and at length prevailed upon him to fettle in his court, and become his preceptor in the sciences 61. Alcuinus accordingly instructed that great prince in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; which rendered him one of his greatest favourites. " He was treated with fo much kindness and " familiarity (fays a cotemporary writer) by the Emperor, that the other courtiers called him, byway of eminence, - the Emperor's delight 62." Charlemagne employed his learned favourite to write feveral books against the heretical opinions. of Felix Bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, and to defend the orthodox faith against that herefiarch, in the council of Francfort, A. D. 894.; which he performed to the entire fatisfaction of the Emperor and council, and even to the conviction of Felix and his followers, who abandoned their

BRIATH

<sup>59</sup> Bale de Script. Britan. cent. 2. c. 17.

<sup>60</sup> Biograph. Britan. art. Alcuinus.

<sup>61</sup> W. Malmf. l. r. c. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Murat. Antiq. t. 1. p. 131.

Letter o

to Charle.

errors 63. The Emperor confulted chiefly with Cent. VIII. Alcuinus on all things relating to religion and learning, and, by his advice, did many great things for the advancement of both. An academy was established in the Imperial palace, over which Alcuinus presided, and in which the princes and prime nobility were educated; and other academies were established in the chief towns of Italy and France, at his infligation, and under his inspection 64. "France (says one " of our best writers of literary history) is in-" debted to Alcuinus for all the polite learning " it boafted of in that and the following ages. "The universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, "Soiffons, and many others, owe to him their " origin and increase; those of whom he was " not the superior and founder, being at least enlightened by his doctrine and example, and " enriched by the benefits he procured for them " from Charlemagne 65." After Alcuinus had fpent many years in the most intimate familiarity with the greatest prince of his age, he at length, with great difficulty, obtained leave to retire from court to his abbey of St. Martin's at Tours. Here he kept up a conftant correspondence by letters with Charlemagne; from which it appears, that both the Emperor and his learned friend were animated with the most ardent love to learning and religion, and conftantly employed in

<sup>63</sup> Du Pin. Hift. Ecclef. cent. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Crevier Hift. Universit. de Paris, t. 1. p. 26, &c.

<sup>66</sup> Cave Hift. Literar. fec. 8. p. 496.

Cent, VIII. contriving and executing the noblest defigns for their advancement 66. Some of these letters of Alcuinus (which are directed to Charlemagne, under the name of King David, according to the custom of that age of giving Scripture-names to princes) breathe fo excellent a spirit, and throw fo much light on the state of learning, that I cannot refift the inclination of laying one of them before the reader, in the following free translation, which I confess falls much short of the fpirit and elegance of the original Latin:

Letter of Alcuinus to Charlemagne.

"To his most pious, excellent, and honoured " Lord, King David,

" Flaccus Alcuinus wisheth everlasting health " and felicity in Christ.

"The contemplation, Omost excellent prince! of that pure and virtuous friendship with which " you honour me, fills my mind at all times with " the most abundant comfort; and I cherish in my heart, as its most precious treasure, the " remembrance of your goodness, and the " image of that benign and gracious countenance " with which you entertain your friends. In my " retirement, it is the greatest joy of my life to " hear of your prosperity; and therefore I have · " fent this young gentleman to bring me an exact account of your affairs, that I may have " reason to fing the loudest praises to my Lord

Jesus Christ for your felicity. But why do I

Epistolæ Alcuini, apud Antiq. Lection. Canisii, t. 2.

" fay that I may have reason?—the whole Chrif- Cent. VIII. "tian world hath reason to praise Almighty "God, with one voice, that he hath raifed up " fo pious, wife, and just a prince, to govern " and protect it in these most dangerous times; " a prince who makes it the whole joy of his " heart, and business of his life, to suppress " every thing that is evil, and promote every "thing that is good; to advance the glory of "God, and spread the knowledge of the Chris-" tian religion into the most distant corners of "the world.

" Perfevere, O my most dear and amiable " prince! in your most honourable course, in " making the improvement of your subjects in "knowledge, virtue, and happiness, the great " object of your pursuit; for this shall redound " to your glory and your felicity in the great "day of the Lord, and in the eternal fociety of " his faints. Such noble defigns and glorious 65 efforts, you may depend upon it, shall not go " unrewarded; for though the life of man is " fhort, the goodness of God is infinite, and he " will recompense our momentary toils with joys " which shall never end. How precious then is " time! and how careful should we be, that we " do not lose by our indolence those immortal " felicities which we may obtain by the active " virtues of a good life!

The employments of your Alcuinus in his retreat are fuited to his humble sphere; but " they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. wuiffenen 3

Cent. VIII. " I spend my time in the halls of St. Martin, in " teaching fome of the noble youths under my " care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring " them with a taste for the learning of the an-" cients; in describing to others the order and " revolutions of those shining orbs which adorn " the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining to " others the mysteries of Divine wisdom, which " are contained in the Holy Scriptures; fuiting " my instructions to the views and capacities of " my fcholars, that I may train up many to be " ornaments to the church of God, and to the "court of Your Imperial Majesty. In doing " this, I find a great want of feveral things, par-" ticularly of those excellent books in all arts " and sciences which I enjoyed in my native " country, through the expence and care of my " great mafter Egbert. May it therefore pleafe "Your Majesty, animated with the most ardent " love of learning, to permit me to fend fome " of our young gentlemen into England, to pro-" cure for us those books which we want, and " transplant the flowers of Britain into France, " that their fragrance may no longer be confined " to York, but may perfume the palaces of C Tours.

"I need not put Your Majesty in mind, how ear-" neftly we are exhorted in the Holy Scriptures " to the pursuit of wisdom; than which nothing " is more conducive to a pleafant, happy, and " honourable life; nothing a greater prefervative " from vice; nothing more becoming or more " necessary

handend ...

necessary to those especially who have the ad- Cent. VIII. " ministration of public affairs, and the govern-" ment of empires. Learning and wisdom exalt " the low, and give additional luftre to the " honours of the great. By wisdom kings reign, " and princes decree justice. Ceafe not then, O " most gracious King! to press the young " nobility of your court to the eager pursuit of " wisdom and learning in their youth, that they " may attain to an honourable old age, and a " bleffed immortality. For my own part, I " will never ceafe, according to my abilities, to " fow the feeds of learning in the minds of your " fubjects in these parts; mindful of the faying of the wifest man, In the morning fow thy feed, " and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for "thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either "this or that. To do this hath been the most " delightful employment of my whole life. In " my youthful years, I fowed the feeds of learn-" ing in the flourishing feminaries of my native " foil of Britain, and in my old age I am doing " the fame in France; praying to God, that " they may spring up and flourish in both coun-" tries. I know alfo, O prince beloved of God, " and praifed by all good men! that you exert " all your influence in promoting the interests " of learning and religion; more noble in your " actions than in your royal birth. May the Lord " Jefus Christ preserve and prosper you in all " your great defigns, and at length bring you to " the D 4

Cent. VIII.

"the enjoyment of celeftial glory "."—How few princes enjoy the happiness of such a correspondence, or have the wisdom and virtue to encourage it!

Alcuinus composed many treatises on a great variety of subjects, in a style much superior in purity and elegance to that of the generality of writers in the age in which he flourished 65. Charlemagne often solicited him, with all the warmth of a most affectionate friend, to return to court, and favour him with his company and advice; but he still excused himself; and nothing could draw him from his retirement in his abbey of St. Martin in Tours, where he died A. D. 804.

Other learned men who flourished in England in this century. Though Beda and Alcuinus were unquestionably the brightest luminaries, not only of England, but of the Christian world, in the eighth century; yet there were some other natives of Britain who made no inconsiderable sigure in the republic of letters in this period; and are therefore entitled to have their names at least preserved in the history of their country. Boniface, the first Archbishop of Mentz was a native of Britain; but whether of South or North Britain, is not agreed <sup>69</sup>. He received his education in several English monasteries, and became famous for his genius and learning. Being ordained a priest in the first year of this century, he was soon after

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<sup>67</sup> Lectiones Antiq. Canif. t. 2. 68 Biograph. Britan. in Alcuin. 69 Cave Hist. Literar. p. 480. Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 35.

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inspired with the zeal of propagating the gospel Cent, VIII. among those nations of Europe who were still Heathens. With this view, he left his native country A.D. 704. and travelled into Germany, where he fpent about fifty years in preaching the gospel with equal zeal and fuccess, making many converts, and founding many churches. To encourage him in his labours, he was confecrated a bishop by Pope Gregory II., A.D. 723. and appointed Archbishop of Mentz A.D. 732. by Gregory III. Boniface being confidered as the apostle of Germany, had great authority in all the churches of that country, and prefided in feveral councils; but was at last barbarously murdered by fome Pagans near Utrecht, June 5. A.D. 754. in the eighty-fourth year of his age. This active prelate, in the course of his long life, befides fome other works, wrote a great number of letters, which have been collected and published by Serarius, and contain many curious things 70. Willibald, the nephew and fellowlabourer of Boniface, was a man of learning, and wrote the life of his uncle 71. Eddius, a monk of Canterbury, who flourished in this century, was very famous for his skill in church-music, a science much esteemed and cultivated in those times, and wrote the life of Wilfred Archbishop of York, which hath been published by Dr. Gale 72. Dungal and Clement, two Scotch-

7º Du Pin Ecclef. Hift. cent. 8.

<sup>71</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Scriptores xv. Histor. Britan. t. 1. p. 40.

Cent, VIII. men, were very famous for their learning in the - latter part of this century, and taught the fciences in Italy and France with much reputation, under the patronage of Charlemagne 23. But it would be improper to be more particular in our enumeration of the learned men of this century. desirable sensor more manufactures and an arrival

Sciences fludied in this century.

The sciences commonly taught and studied in this age were few and imperfect. It feems to have been in this period that the famous division of the feven liberal arts or sciences into the trivium and quadrivium took place. The trivium comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the quadrivium, music, arithmetic, geometry, and aftronomy, according to the barbarous verses quoted below 74. John of Salisbury, who flourished in the twelfth century, speaks of this division of the sciences as of very great antiquity in his time. " The sciences are divided (fays " he) into the trivii and quadrivii; which were of fo much admired by our ancestors in former " ages, that they imagined they comprehended " all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient " for the folution of all questions, and the re-" moving of all difficulties: for whoever un-" derstood the trivii (grammar, rhetoric, and "logic) could explain all manner of books

<sup>73</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 3. c. 815, &c.

<sup>74</sup> Gramm. loquitor, Dia. vera docet. Rhet. verba colorat, Mus. cadit, Ar. numerat, Geo, ponderat, Ast. colit astra. Brucker Hift. Philof. t. 3. p. 597.

<sup>66</sup> without.

without a teacher; but he who was further Cent. VIII. " advanced, and comprehended also the qua-" drivii (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astro-" nomy), could answer all questions, and un-" fold all the fecrets of nature 75." How ancient is the art of concealing ignorance under fpecious pretences to knowledge! Natural and experimental philosophy was totally neglected; nor were the foundations and principles of morals any part of the fludy of the learned in this period 76. The learned reader will find a very curious poetical catalogue of the sciences taught in the academy of York, in the work quoted below. " we distributed has seemed by a line.

The narrow limits and very imperfect flate of Causes of the sciences in this age were owing to various the low causes; but especially to the total neglect, or learning in rather contempt, of learning, by the laity of all ranks; the greatest princes being, for the most tury. part, quite illiterate. After what hath been faid of the learning of Charlemagne, who was unquestionably the greatest monarch and wifest man of his age, it will no doubt furprife the reader to hear, that his education had been fo much neglected, that he could not write, and that he was forty-five years of age when he began to fludy the sciences under Alcuinus 78. From this ex-

ftate of this cen-

<sup>75</sup> Joan. Salif. Metalog. 1. 1. c. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Bruckeri Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 599.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccles. Ebor. apud Gale, p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Eginhard. Vita Caroli Magni, c.25. 2000 1807 1901 World

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ample, we may form fome judgment of the education and learning, or rather ignorance, of the other princes and nobles of Europe in those times. Learning then being wholly in the hands of the clergy, and a very fmall portion of it being fufficient to enable them to perform the offices of the church with tolerable decency, few, very few of them, aspired to any more. Nor have we any reason to be surprised at this, when we confider the difficulty of procuring books and mafters, and gaining even a smattering of the sciences; and that when it was gained, it contributed little to their credit, and nothing to their preferment, as there were fo few who were capable of difcerning literary merit, or difposed to reward it.

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State of learning in the ninth century.

Cantles of

Learning, which had begun to decline in England about the middle of the eighth century, was almost quite extinguished in the beginning of the ninth; and that profound darkness which had been a little dissipated by the appearance of a few extraordinary men, as Aldhelm, Beda, Egbert, and Alcuinus, returned again, and refumed its dominion over the minds of men. Many of the monasteries, which were the only feats of learning, had by this time been destroyed, either by the Danes or by the civil wars, their libraries burnt, and the monks difperfed. This was particularly the cafe in the kingdom of Northumberland, where learning had flourished most, as we are informed by the following passages in the letters of Alcuinus, preferved ample,

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preserved by William of Malmsbury. To the Cent.IX. clergy of York he writes:-" I call God to " witness, that it was not the love of gold that " carried me into France, or that detains me " there; but the wretched and deplorable state " of your church." To Offa King of Mercia:-" I was ready to return into my native " country of Northumberland loaded with pre-" fents by Charlemagne; but upon the intelli-" gence I have received, I think it better to " remain where I am, than venture myfelf in a " country where no man can enjoy fecurity, or " profecute his studies. For, lo! their churches " are demolished by the Pagans, their altars " polluted with impiety, their monasteries de-" filed with adulteries, and the land wet with the blood of its nobles and princes 79." From hence it appears (fays Malmfbury) how many calamities were brought upon England through the neglect of learning, and the other vices of its inhabitants. As the devastations of the Danes were gradually carried into all parts of England in the course of this century, the monasteries, and other feats of learning, were every where laid in the dust, and the very last glimmerings of literary knowledge almost quite extinguished. Of this we have the fullest evidence in the following passage of a letter of Alfred the Great to Wulfsig Bishop of Worcester: " At my acces-"fion to the throne (A. D. 871.), all know-

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Thorney

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" ledge and learning was extinguished in the 66 English nation: insomuch that there were very few to the fouth of the Humber who under-" flood the common prayers of the church, or " were capable of translating a fingle fentence " of Latin into English; but to the fouth of the Thames, I cannot recollect fo much as " one who could do this "." Another cotemporary writer gives the following melancholy account of the flate of learning in this period: "In our days, those who discover any taste for " learning, or defire of knowledge, are become "the objects of contempt and hatred; their conduct is viewed with jealous eyes; and if any blemish is detected in their behaviour, it " is imputed, not to the frailty of human nature, " but to the nature of their studies, and their " affectation of being wifer than their neighbours. "By this means, those few who have really a co love to learning, are deterred from engaging in the noble pursuit, through the dread of that " reproach and ignominy to which it would exin take dende om this positing " pose them." 81

Life of John Scot.

When learning was in this condition, we cannot expect to meet with many learned men who merit a place in the annals of their country. Accordingly we do not find above one or two among the people of this island from the death of Alcuinus, A. D. 804. to the accession of Al-

<sup>50</sup> Spelman Vita Alfredi, Append. 3. p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> Servati Lupi Epist. ad Eginhardum, Ep. 1.

fred, A.D. 871. who attained to any degree of Cent.IX. literary fame. The most learned man in Europe, however, in this dark period, was a native of Britain, and most probably of the town of Air in Scotland, This was Johannes Scotus Erigena, fo called from his country, and the place of his birth; and furnamed the Wife, on account of his fuperior knowledge and erudition 82. This ingenious man, who was probably born about the beginning of this century, feeing his own country involved in great darkness and confusion, and affording no means of acquiring that knowledge after which he thirsted, travelled into foreign parts, and, if we may believe fome writers, into Greece, where he acquired the knowledge of the Greek language and of the Greek philosophy; which were very rare accomplishments in those times 83. "In whatever " manner (fays one of the best writers of literary " hiftory) he acquired the knowledge of lan-" guages and philosophy, it is very certain that " he had not only a very pleasant and facetious, " but also a very acute and penetrating genius; " that in philosophy he had no superior, and in " languages no equal, in the age in which he "flourished 84." These uncommon accomplishments, together with his wit and pleafantry, which rendered his conversation as agreeable as

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Mackenzie's Lives of Scotch Writers, p. 49.

Baleus de Script. Britan. p. 114.

<sup>\*</sup> Bruckeri Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 615.

Cent.IX. it was instructive, procured him an invitation from Charles the Bald, King of France, the greatest patron of learning and learned men in that age. Scotus accepted of this invitation, and lived feveral years in the court of that great prince, on a footing of the most intimate friendship and familiarity, sleeping often in the royal apartment, and dining daily at the royal table. We may judge of the freedom which he used with Charles, by the following repartee, preferved by one of our ancient historians. As the King and Scotus were fitting one day at table opposite to each other, after dinner, drinking a cheerful glass, the philosopher having said something that was not quite agreeable to the rules of French politeness, the King, in a merry humour, asked him, Pray what is between a Scot and a fot? To which he answered, Nothing but the table 85. The King, fays the historian, laughed heartily, and was not in the least offended, as he made it a rule never to be angry with his mafter, as he always called Scotus. But Charles valued this great man for his wifdom and learning still more than for his wit, and retained him about his person, not only as an agreeable companion, but as his preceptor in the sciences, and his best counsellor in the most arduous affairs of government. At the defire of his royal friend and patron, Scotus composed several works while he refided in the court of France; which.

procured him many admirers on the one hand, Cent.IX. and many adversaries on the other; especially among the clergy, to whom his notions on feveral subjects did not appear perfectly orthodox. His books on predeffination and the eucharift in particular were supposed to contain many bold and dangerous positions; and a crowd of angry monks and others wrote against them 86, While he was engaged in these disputes, an incident happened which drew upon him the displeasure of the fovereign pontiff. Michael Balbus, the Greek Emperor, had fent a copy of the works of Dionyfius the philosopher to the Emperor Lewis the Pious, A.D. 824. as a most valuable pre-This was efteemed an inestimable treasure fent. in France, because it was ignorantly believed to be the work of Dionysius the Areopagite, the pretended apostle of the French; but being in Greek, it was quite unintelligible. Charles the Bald, the fon and fucceffor of Lewis, defirous of perufing this work, employed his friend Scotus to translate it into Latin; which he undertook, and accomplished, without consulting the Pope. This, with the former suspicions of his heterodoxy, gave fo great offence to His Holiness, that he wrote a very angry letter to the King of France, requesting, or rather commanding, him to fend Scotus to Rome, to undergo a trial. "I have been informed (fays the Pope " in his letter) that one John, a Scotchman by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Brucker, Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 616.

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" birth, hath lately translated into Latin the " work of Dionyfius the Areopagite, concerning " the divine names and the celeftial hierarchy, " which he should have fent to me for my ap-" probation, according to cuftom. This was " the more necessary, because the said John, "though a man of great learning, is reported " not to think rightly in fome things 87." But Charles had too great an affection for his learned and agreeable companion to truft him in the hands of the incenfed pontiff. The most capital work of this John Scot was his book concerning the nature of things, or the division of natures; which, after lying long in MS. was at length published by Dr. Thomas Gale. This was in feveral respects the most curious literary production of that age, being written with a metaphyfical fubtlety and acuteness then unknown in Europe. This acuteness Scotus had acquired by reading the writings of the Greek philosophers; and by his using the subtleties and refinements of logic in the difcuffion of theological fubjects, he became the father of that scholastic divinity, which made fo diftinguished a figure in the middle ages, and maintained its ground fo long. The criticism of one of our ancient historians on this work is not unjust. "His book, intitled, " The division of natures, is of great use in solving " many intricate and perplexing questions; if we can forgive him for deviating from the

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<sup>27</sup> Aub. Miræus ad Gemblacen, c. 93. p. 104.

" path of the Latin philosophers and divines, Cent.IX. " and pursuing that of the Greeks. It was this " that made him appear heretic to many; and " it must be confessed, that there are many things " in it which, at first fight at least, feem to be " contrary to the Catholic faith 83." Of this kind are his opinions about God and the universe; which have evidently too great a refemblance to the pantheism of Spinoza. Scotus was not free from that learned vanity which makes men delight in fuch paradoxes as are commonly no better than impious or ridiculous abfurdities. The following fhort quotations from this work will abundantly justify these strictures. "All "things are God, and God is all things. When " we fay that God created all things, we mean " only, that God is in all things, and that he is " the effence of all things, by which they exist." "The universe is both eternal and created, and " neither did its eternity precede its creation, " nor its creation precede its eternity "?." The philosophical and theological system of Scotus appears to have been this in a few words: "That the universe, and all things which it comprehends, were not only virtually, but ef-" fentially in God; that they flowed from him " from eternity; and shall, at the consumma-" tion of all things, be refolved again into him, " as into their great fountain and origin. After

88 Hovedeni Annal. ad ann. 883.

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<sup>89</sup> Jo. Scoti Erigenæ de Divisione Naturæ, libri quinque, p.42-

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"the refurrection (fays he), nature, and all its " causes, shall be resolved unto God, and then " nothing shall exist but God alone 90." . These opinions were far enough from being agreeable to the Catholic faith; and therefore we need not be furprifed to hear, that the Pope Honorius III. published a bull, commanding all the copies of this book that could be found to be fent to Rome, in order to be burnt; "because (savs His " Holiness) it is quite full of the worms of he-" retical pravity "." The concluding scene of the history of this learned and ingenious man is involved in darkness and uncertainty. Some English historians affirm, that after the death of his great patron Charles the Bald, he came over into England, at the invitation of Alfred the Great; that he taught some time in the university of Oxford; from whence he retired to the abbey of Malmsbury, where he was murdered by his fcholars with their penknives 92. But thefe writers feem to have confounded John Scot Erigena with another John Scot, who was an Englishman, cotemporary with Alfred, taught at Oxford, and was flain by the monks of the abbey of Ethelingey, of which he was abbot 93. It is most probable that Erigena ended his days in France. 94

<sup>93</sup> Jo. Scoti Erigenæ de Divisione Naturæ, libri quinque, p. 232.

<sup>91</sup> Alberic. Chron. ad ann. 1225.

<sup>92</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c.4. Hoveden Annal. ad ann. 865.

<sup>93</sup> Afferius in Vita Alfredi.

Histoire Literaire de la France, Siecle 9.

History of

The reign of Alfred the Great, from A. D. Cent.IX. 817. to A.D. 901. is a most memorable period in the annals of learning, and affords more ma- learning terials for literary history than two or three cen- in the turies either before or after, flining with all the Alfred the warmth and lustre of the brightest day of sum- Great. mer, amidst the gloom of a long, dark, and flormy winter. Every friend to learning, and the improvement of the human mind, must wish to fee the literary merits of this excellent prince fet in a fair and just light, for the honour of human nature, and an example to all fucceeding SHALL THE SEASON OF THE SEASON

Alfred the Great appeared at a time, and in Literary circumstances, the most unfavourable that can history of Alfred. be conceived for the acquisition of knowledge, being born when his country was involved in the most profound darkness and deplorable confufion, when the finall remains of science that were left were wholly confined to cloifters, and learning was confidered rather as a reproach than an honour to a prince. Accordingly we find that his education was totally neglected in this respect: and though he was carefully instructed in the art of hunting, in which he attained to great dexterity, he was not taught to know one letter from another till he was above twelve years of age; when a book was put into his hand by a kind of accident, rather than any formed defign. The Queen, his mother, one day being in company with her four fons, of which Alfred was the youngest, and having a book of Saxon, advanteed

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poems in her hand, beautifully written and illuminated, observed, that the royal youths were charmed with the beauty of the book; upon which fhe faid, - " I will make a prefent of this book to him who shall learn to read it soonest." Alfred immediately took fire, and applied to learn to read with fuch ardour, that in a very little time he both read and repeated the poem to the Queen, and received it for his reward 95. From that moment he was feized with an infatiable thirst for knowledge, and reading and fludy became his chief delight. But still he met with great difficulties in the profecution of his studies for want of proper helps. "I have " heard him (fays Afferius) lament it with many " fighs, as the greatest misfortune of his life, " that when he was young, and had leifure for " fludy, he could not find mafters to inftruct 66 him; because at that time there were few or " none among the West-Saxons who had any " learning, or could fo much as read with pro-" priety and eafe 96." For some years before, and feveral years after his accession to the throne. he was fo inceffantly engaged in wars against the Danes, and in other affairs of flate, that he had but little time for fludy; but of that little he did not loofe a moment, carrying a book continually in his bosom, to which he applied whenever he had an opportunity 97. When he was

<sup>95</sup> Aster. de Alfredi Rebus gestis, p. 5. edit. a Camden.

<sup>96</sup> Id. ibid. 97 Id. ibid.

advanced in life, and had restored the tranquillity of his country by the submission of the Danes, he was fo far from relaxing, that he redoubled his efforts to improve his mind in knowledge, devoting a confiderable portion of his time to fludy, and employing all his leifure hours in reading or hearing others read 98. By this inceffant application to fludy, this excellent prince became one of the greatest scholars of the age in which he flourished. He is faid to have spoken the Latin language with as much eafe and fluency as his native tongue, and understood, but did not speak Greek. He was an eloquent orator, an acute philosopher, an excellent historian, mathematician, mufician, and architect, and the prince of the Saxon poets. 99

Alfred did not profecute his studies with all Invited this ardour merely as a private man, and for his learned men to his own improvement only, but as a great prince, court. and for the improvement of his fubjects, whose ignorance he viewed with much compassion. Conscious that the revival of learning in a country where it was quite extinct, was too arduous a task even for the greatest monarch, without asfistance, he was at great pains to find out learned men in other countries, whom he invited to fettle in his court and kingdom. Those who accepted his invitations, he received in the kindest manner, treated with the most engaging familiarity,

<sup>98</sup> Asser. de Alfredi Rebus gestis, p.5. edit. a Camden.

<sup>9)</sup> W. Westm. A.D. 871. Ingulf. p. 28. W. Malmf. 1.2. c.4.

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and loaded with the greatest favours. Some of these learned men he kept about his own person, as the companions of his studies, and to affist him in the instruction of his own sons, and of the sons of his nobility, who were educated with them in his palace: while he stationed others of them in those places where they might be most useful 100. As these scholars, though in a humbler station, were the associates of the illustrious Alfred in the revival of learning, they merit our grateful remembrance in this place.

Life of Affer.

Affer, a monk of St. David's in Wales, was one of Alfred's greatest favourites, and wrote his life, to which we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the actions and character of this great prince. Alfred having heard this monk much celebrated for his learning, invited him to his court; and was fo charmed with his conversation at the first interview, that he earneftly preffed him to come and live conftantly with him. To this the monk, not being his own mafter, could not agree; but at length, with the confent of his monastery, it was settled, that he should spend one half of every year at St. David's, and the other at the court of England; where he employed much of his time in reading with the King, who rewarded him with three rich abbeys, and many noble prefents. 101

Grimbald, &c.

Grimbald, a monk of Rheims in France, was another of the learned men whom Alfred invited

<sup>100</sup> Affer. de Alfredi Rebus gestis, p. 5. edit. a Camden. 101 Id. p. 15.

to his court, to affift him in his own fludies, and Cent.IX. in reviving the fludy of letters among his fubjects. This monk was particularly famous for his theological and ecclefiaftical learning, and his skill in church music; which rendered him a valuable acquisition to Alfred, and a useful inftrument in promoting his defigns for the reftoration of learning, as we shall fee by and by 102. He procured another learned man from Old Saxony on the continent, who was named John Scot, and is by many writers confounded with John Scot Erigena, though he was evidently a different person 103. Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Werefred Bishop of Worcester, Dunwulph Bishop of Winchester, Wulfsig and Ethelstan Bishops of London, and Werebert Bishop of Chefter, were among the learned men who affifted Alfred in his studies, and in promoting the interests of learning among his fubjects. 104 11 1000 H 300 K 500 N 81-14, 10 161-16 19

By the affiftance of these ingenious men, and Works of his own indefatigable application, Alfred ac-Alfred. quired a very uncommon degree of erudition; which he employed, like a great and good prince, in composing some original works, and translating others out of Latin into Saxon, for the instruction of his people. The most perfect catalogue, both of the original works, and translations of this excellent prince, may be found in

<sup>102</sup> Asser. de Alfredi Rebus gestis, p. 14. edit. a Camden.

<sup>103</sup> Ingulf. Hift. 104 Spelman, Life of Alfred, p. 137, 138.

Cent.IX, the work quoted below 105; but is too long to be here inferted. The motives which prompted Alfred to translate some books out of Latin into Saxon; and the methods which he used in making and publishing these translations, are communicated to us by himfelf, in his preface to one of them: "When I confidered with myfelf how " much the knowledge of the Latin tongue was " decayed in England, though many could read " their native language well enough, I began, " amidst all the hurry and multiplicity of my " affairs, to translate this book (the pastoral of "St. Gregory) out of Latin into English, in " fome places very literally, in others more " freely; as I had been taught by Plegmund my Archbishop, and Affer my Bishop, and "Grimbald and John my priefts. When I " had learned by their instructions, to compre-" hend the fenfe of the original clearly, I trans-" lated it, I fay, and fent a copy of my transla-"tion to every bishop's feat in my kingdom, " with an æftel or handle worth fifty mancuffes, "charging all men, in the name of God, neither " to separate the book from the handle, nor re-" move it out of the church; because I did not know how long we might enjoy the happiness " of having fuch learned prelates as we have at of prefent 106." There can be no doubt that Alfred had the fame views, and proceeded in the

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<sup>105</sup> Biographia Britan. vol. 1. p. 54, 55.

<sup>306</sup> Spelman. Vita Alfredi, Append. No. 3. p. 197.

fame manner, in making and publishing his other Cent.IX. translations.

At the accession of Alfred the Great, all the Seminaries feminaries of learning in England were laid in of learnashes. These were the monasteries and bishops' feats where schools had been kept for the education of youth, chiefly for the church, which were fo univerfally destroyed by the Danes, that hardly one of them was left flanding. This great prince, fensible how impossible it was to revive learning, without providing schools for the education of youth, repaired the old monasteries, and built new ones, inflituting a school in each of them for that purpose 107. But in these monastic and episcopal schools, both in England and in other countries of Europe, the youth were only taught reading, writing, the Latin language, and church-music, to fit them for performing the public offices of the church: except in a very few, where some were taught arithmetic, to enable them to manage the fecular affairs of their focieties, and others instructed in rhetoric and theology, to affift them in declaiming to the people 108. Though these schools prevented the total extinction of literary knowledge among the Christian clergy in those dark times, they contributed very little to the improvement of the fciences, or the diffusing of learning among the laity, who were left almost entirely without the means of acquiring any degree of literature. ing account of the ichools founded at Oxford by

Spelman. Vita Alfredi, Append. No. 3. p. 106.

<sup>208</sup> Conring. de Antiquit. Academ. p.67, 68.

The university of Oxford founded.

When Alfred the Great, therefore, formed the noble defign of rendering learning both more perfect and more general, he was under a neceffity of inftituting schools on a different and more extensive plan: in which all the sciences that were then known fhould be taught by the best masters that could be procured, to the laity as well as to the clergy. This great prince, having formed the idea of fuch a school, was very happy in the choice of a place for its establishment, fixing on that auspicious spot where the univerfity of Oxford, one of the most illustrious seats of learning in the world, now stands. Whether he was determined to make this choice by its having been a feat of learning in former times, by the natural amenity of the place, or by its convenient fituation, almost in the centre of his dominions, we have not leifure to inquire, as it would lead us into feveral tedious and doubtful disquisitions. Being surrounded by a considerable number of learned men, collected from different countries, he juftly thought, that they could not be better employed than in instructing the rifing generation in divine and human learn-In order to enable them to do this with the greater fuccess, he provided fuitable accommodations for them and their scholars, at Oxford; though, at this distance of time, it cannot be discovered with certainty what these accommodations and endowments were. The following account of the schools founded at Oxford by Alfred the Great is given by John Rouse, the antiquarian of Warwick, who flourished in the When fifteenth fifteenth century; to which our readers may give Cent.IX. that degree of credit which they think it merits. " At the first founding of the university of Ox-" ford, the noble King Alfred built three halls " in the name of the Holy Trinity, for the doc-" tors in grammar, philosophy, and divinity. " The first of these halls was fituated in High-" ftreet near the east gate of the city, and en-" dowed with a fufficient maintenance for twenty-" fix grammarians. This was called Little-hall, " on account of the inferiority of the science "there studied; and it still retains that name " even in my time. The fecond was built near "the north wall of the city, in the street now called School-street, and endowed for twenty-" fix logicians or philosophers, and had the name " of Less-hall. The third was built also in "High-street, contiguous to Little-hall, and " was endowed for twenty-fix divines, for the " fludy of the holy scriptures "." This account, fome may think, is corroborated by the following passage of the old annals of the monaftery of Winchester, which hath also preserved the names of the first professors in this celebrated feat of learning, after its foundation or reftoration by King Alfred. "In the year of our Lord " 886. in the fecond year of St. Grimbald's " coming over into England, the university of "Oxford was founded. The first regents there, " and readers in divinity, were St. Neot, an

J.Roff. Hift. Regum Angl. p. 77, 78.

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" abbot and eminent professor of theology, and "St. Grimbald, an eloquent and most excellent " interpreter of the holy scriptures. Grammar " and rhetoric were taught by Afferius, a monk, " a man of extraordinary learning. Logic, mu-" fic, and arithmetic, were read by John, a " monk of St. David's. Geometry and aftro-" nomy were professed by John, a monk and " colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of sharp wit and immense knowledge. These lec-"tures were often honoured with the prefence of the most illustrious and invincible monarch "King Alfred, whose memory to every judicious tafte shall be always sweeter than ho-" ney "." For the support of the masters and scholars, in these and the other schools which he established, Alfred allotted one-eighth part of his whole revenue in. It feems to have been in these newly erected schools at Oxford, that their illustrious founder settled his youngest fon Æthelweard, with the fons of his nobility and others, for their education, of which Afferius, a cotemporary writer, and one of the professors above mentioned, gives the following account: "He of placed Æthelweard, his youngest son, who was fond of learning, together with the fons of his nobility, and of many persons of ineferior rank, in schools which he had esta-" blifhed with great wifdom and forefight, and

<sup>110</sup> Camd. Britan. t.1. c. 304.

M Affer. Vita Alfredi, edit. a Camd. p. 20.

or provided with able mafters. In these schools Cent. IX. "the youth were instructed in reading and writ-" ing both the Saxon and Latin languages, and " in other liberal arts, before they arrived at fuf-" ficient strength of body for hunting, and other " manly exercises becoming their rank "2." It is at least certain, from what follows immediately after in Afferius, that the schools in which Æthelweard and his fellow fludents were placed, were different from those in which his two elder brothers Edward and Elfthryth were educated, which were in the King's court 113. There is another paffage in Afferius, as published by Camden, relating to the university of Oxford, which hath been the occasion of much controversy, some writers contending for its authenticity, and others affirming that it hath been interpolated. After examining the arguments on both fides of this question, which are too tedious to be here inferte!, I cannot help fuspecting the genuineness of this passage; but as I dare not positively pronounce it spurious, I shall lay it before the reader. "The fame year (886.) there arose a great dif-" fenfion at Oxford, between Grimbald and the " learned men which he brought with him, and 46 the old scholars which he found there, who " refused to comply with the laws and forms of " reading prescribed by Grimbald. For about, "three years this difference occasioned only a " private grudge, which made no great noise;

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" but at length it broke out with great violence. "The invincible King Alfred, being informed " of this by a meffage and complaint from "Grimbald, haftened to Oxford to put an end " to these disputes, and heard both parties with " great patience. The old fcholars pleaded in " their own defence, that before Grimbald came " to Oxford, learning flourished there, though " the students were not so numerous as they had " formerly been, many of them having been ex-" pelled by the cruelties of the Pagans. They " further affirmed, and proved by the undoubted " testimony of ancient annals, that the laws and " flatutes of that place had been established by " men of great piety and learning, as Gildas, " Melkin, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who " had taught there in their old age, and had " managed all things with great tranquillity and "good order; and that when St. Germanus " came into Britain to preach against the Pela-" gian herefy, he refided fix months at Oxford, " and greatly approved of its laws and inftitu-" tions. The king having heard both parties " with incredible patience and humility, and " having earneftly exhorted them to lay afide " their disputes, and live in peace and concord, " left them in hopes that they would comply " with his admonitions. But Grimbald, not " fatisfied with this, retired to the new mo-" naftery at Winchester, which King Alfred had " lately founded, and foon after had his tomb " brought thither also, which he had originally cc fet

" fet up in a vault under the chancel in the Cent. X church of St. Peter at Oxford; which church 66 he had built from the foundation with stones " polished with great art "4." In a word, if Oxford had been a feat of learning in more ancient times, which it is certainly very difficult either to prove or disprove, it appears to have been fo entirely ruined, together with all the other feminaries of learning in England, in the beginning of King Alfred's reign, that this great prince may be juftly flyled the father and founder of the university of Oxford: a circumstance equally honourable to his memory, and to this famous feat of learning!

When Alfred the Great had thus founded and Revival of endowed schools, and provided them with proper masters, he next endeavoured to fill them with fuitable fcholars; which was not the eafiest part of his work in that rude age, when learning was held in fuch contempt, especially by the nobility. This illiberal and barbarous contempt of letters, he effectually destroyed in a little time, - by his own example, - by fpeaking on all occasions in praise of learning, - and by making it the great road to preferment, both in church and flate 115. Still further to diffuse a taste for knowledge, and to transmit it to posterity, he made a law, obliging all freeholders who possessed two hides of land, or upwards, to fend their fons to school,

<sup>114</sup> Affer. Vita Alfredi, edit. a Camd. p. 16.

<sup>115</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c. 4.

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and give them a liberal education 116. By these wife measures, this most excellent prince made a total change in the fentiments of his fubjects. The old nobility bewailed their unhappiness in being ignorant of letters, and some of them applied to fludy in a very advanced age; while all took care to fend their fons, and young relations, to those schools provided for them by the wisdom and munificence of their fovereign 117. In a word, learning revived and flourished to fuch a degree in the course of Alfred's reign, that before the end of it he could boaft, that all his bishops' sees were filled by prelates of great learning, and every pulpit in England furnished with a good preacher. So aftonishing are the effects which a great and good prince, animated with an ardent zeal for the happiness of his subjects, can produce not only in the circumflances, but in the very spirit and character of a nation!

Cent. X. State of learning in the tenth century. That gleam of light which appeared in England towards the conclusion of the ninth century, was not of long continuance; for as this was chiefly owing to the extraordinary genius and prodigious efforts of Alfred the Great, as soon as these were removed by the death of that prince, in the first year of the tenth century, learning began to languish and decline. Edward, his eldest son, and successor, had been educated with great care; but not having the same genius and

<sup>116</sup> Abbas Rievallenfis.

<sup>117</sup> Affer. Vita Alfredi, p.21.

tafte for study with his illustrious father, he did cent. X. not prove fo great a patron of learning and learned men 118. The Danes, too, those destructive enemies of science and civility, no sooner heard of the death of Alfred, than they renewed their ravages; which they continued, with little interruption, for many years. Besides this, the learned men collected by Alfred from different countries, dying foon after their royal patron, were not fucceeded by men of equal learning. These, and several other unfavourable circumftances, gave a fatal check to the liberal and fludious spirit which had been excited in the late reign; and the English by degrees relapsed into their former ignorance and contempt of learning. In this indeed they were far from being fingular at this period; for all the nations of Europe were involved in fuch profound darkness during the whole course of the tenth century, that the writers of literary history are at a loss for words to paint the ignorance, flupidity, and barbarism of that age 119. "We now enter (fays " one) on the history of an age, which, for its " barbarifm and wickedness, may be called the " age of iron; for its dulness and stupidity, the " age of lead; and for its blindness and " ignorance, the age of darkness 120." " The " tenth century (fays another) is commonly and

119 W. Malmf. 1.2. c.5. Hoveden, pars prior.

<sup>119</sup> Cave, Hiftor. Literar. p. 571. Brucker. Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 632.

Baron, Annal. ad an. 900.

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" justly called the unhappy age; for it was " almost quite destitute of men of genius and " learning, had few great princes or good pre-" lates, and hardly any thing was performed in " it that merits the attention of posterity 121." The many groß errors, and wretched superstitions, that were either introduced or established in the course of this century, such as, - transubflantiation, - the adoration of images and relics, -the baptism of bells,-the belief of the most childish stories of visions, apparitions, and miracles, -the celibacy of the clergy, -trials by fire and water ordeals, &c. &c. were fufficient proofs of its ignorance and stupidity. popes who governed the church of Rome in this century, were for the most part the vilest miscreants that ever difgraced human nature; and that city, where letters had hitherto been cultivated in some degree, now became a scene of fuch deplorable ignorance, as well as wickedness, that a cotemporary writer cries out, "O " miferable Rome! thou that formerly didft " hold out fo many great and glorious luminaries " to our ancestors, into what prodigious dark-" ness art thou now fallen, which will render " thee infamous to all fucceeding ages 122 !" The clergy in this age were almost as illiterate as the laity. Some who filled the highest stations in the church could not fo much as read; while

others,

<sup>- 121</sup> Genebrard. p. 552.

Arnoldus Orleanenfis, apud Du Pin, Hist. Eccles. cent. 10.

others, who pretended to be better fcholars, and Cent. X. attempted to perform the public offices, committed the most egregious blunders; of which the reader will find one example, out of many quoted below. 123

When this was the melancholy flate of letters England. in all the nations of Europe, it cannot be fupposed that England will furnish us with many valuable materials for literary history in this age. It must, however, be observed, that the decline of learning in this island, after the death of Alfred, was gradual, and that it acquired a confiderable time to deftroy all the effects of his labours for its advancement. Besides though his fon Edward, and his grandfon Athelftan, were very far inferior to him in learning, and in their efforts for its support; yet they had not so entirely forgotten his precepts and example as to be quite indifferent to its interests. On the contrary, they were not only the bravest, but the most intelligent princes of their age, and the greatest patrons of learning.

Edward, if we may believe fome of our ancient University historians, was the founder or restorer of the of Camuniversity of Cambridge, as his father had been of Oxford. " Edward furnamed the Elder, " fucceeded his father Alfred the Great; and

Leibnez Coll. Script. Brunfwic. t. I. p. 555

<sup>123</sup> Meinwerc, Bishop of Paderborn, in this century, in reading the public prayers, used to fay, - " Benedic Domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabis tuis: - instead of famulis et famulabis: which made it a very ludicrous petition.

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" though he was not equal to him in learning, " yet he loved learned men, and advanced them " to ecclefiaftical dignities, according to their " merits. For the further encouragement of " learning, he raifed Cambridge, as his father 66 had done Oxford, to its former glory, after it had been long in ruins, with all the other " ancient feminaries of learning; and, like a " generous friend and patron of the clergy, he commanded halls for the teachers and students " to be built there at his own expence. To " render this institution complete, he invited " teachers of the liberal arts, and doctors in " theology, from Oxford, and fettled them at " Cambridge. Thus far Thomas Rodburn, in " his chronicle. But I have feen a more full " and authentic reprefentation of this in a certain " ancient painting in the abbey of Hyde, at "Winchester, which was fent to me, and is " ftill in my poffession 124." -- If the above account of the reftoration of schools of learning at Cambridge, by Edward the Elder, is true, which I shall not take upon me either to affirm or deny, these schools, together with the city of Cambridge, were once more ruined by the Danes A.D. 1010. and do not feem to have been reftored again till after the conclusion of the period we are now delineating 125. Edward gave another proof of his regard to learning, by bestowing a very liberal education on his five fons and nine

J.Roffii Hift. Reg. Ang. p. 96.

13 Chron. Saxon. p. 140.

13 daughters,

daughters, who excelled all the princes and prin- cent.x. cesses of their age in literary accomplishments. Ethelward, his fecond fon, in particular, greatly refembled his illustrious grandfather in genius and love of learning, as well as in his person: but unhappily died young 126. Athelstan, the eldest fon and successor of Edward, was a prince of uncommon learning for the age in which he lived. William of Malmfbury tells us, that a few days before he wrote the history of this king. he had read an old book written in his reign. that contained fo flaming a panegyric on his extraordinary learning, that he did not think fit to infert it in his work; because he suspected it was wrought up by the author beyond the truth. in order to gain the favour of Athelftan 127: a. fuspicion which perhaps was not well founded. It appears from his laws, that this king was a friend to learning and learned men; by one of which it is decreed, "that if any man make fuch " proficiency in learning as to obtain prieft's " orders, he shall enjoy all the honours and pri-" vileges of a thane 128." If it be true, that this prince employed certain learned Jews, who then refided in England, to translate the Old Testament out of Hebrew into English, that is a further proof of his attention both to learning and religion 129. It must after all be confessed, that the efforts of Edward and Athelftan, for the

<sup>126</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c.5. 127 Id. ibid. p.6.

<sup>128</sup> Spelman. Concil. t. 1. p. 406.
129 Bal. de Script. Brit. p. 127.

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fupport of learning, were not very fuccessful; for we meet with none who flourished under their government, so famous for their erudition as to merit a place in this work.

St. Dunftan celebrated for his learning by the monks.

The reigns of feveral fucceeding kings were equally unfortunate in this respect; and England by degrees funk into the fame profound darkness and ignorance with the other nations of Europe. Some of our monkish historians, it is true, speak in the highest strains of the prodigious learning of their great champion St. Dunstan. "He excelled (fays one of them) as much in " learning as he did in piety; and by his prodi-" gious diligence, and the amazing genius that "God had bestowed upon him, he easily ac-" quired, and he long retained, all kinds of "knowledge; fo that in a little time he became " equal in learning to his teachers, and far fupe-" rior to all his fellow scholars. So acute was " his reason, so lively his imagination, and so " admirable his elocution, that no man ever " conceived things with greater quickness, ex-" pressed them with greater elegance, nor pro-" nounced them with greater sweetness 130."\_\_\_\_ 46 At this time (fays another) England was en-" lightened with many bright luminaries, like " fo many ftars from heaven; among whom St. "Dunftan shone with superior lustre, and was, 46 next to King Alfred, the greatest promoter of " learning that ever appeared in this island 131."

<sup>130</sup> Osbern Vita Dunstan. p. 93.

<sup>131</sup> W. Malmf. 1, 2. c. 8.

But little credit can be given to these encomiums; Cent. X. for it became a kind of fashion among the English monks in the middle ages, to heap all the praises on their patron Dunstan that their imaginations could invent, without any regard to truth or probability. We are gravely told,-" That " in the days of St. Dunstan, all men wor-" fhipped God with fervour and fincerity; that " the earth itself rejoiced, and the fields rewarded " the labours of the husbandman with the most " abundant harvests; that all the elements " fmiled, and the face of heaven was never " obscured with clouds; that there were no " fuch things as fear, difcord, oppression, or " murder, but that all men lived in perfect vir-" tue and profound tranquillity; and that all "those felicities flowed from the bleffed St. "Dunftan; for which, as well as for his mi-" racles, he was loaded with glory 132." A picture very different from the real history of those times.

After the death of Edgar the Peaceable, A. D. Decline of 975. England became a fcene of great confusion learning. and mifery for many years, through the increafing power and fpreading devastations of the Danes. In these circumstances learning could not flourish; but, on the contrary, was almost entirely ruined, together with its two most famous feminaries, Oxford and Cambridge, which were reduced to ashes by those barbarians. 133

W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontificum Anglor. p. 115. 133 Chron. Saxon. p.139, 140.

Life of Elfric the grammarian.

Elfric the grammarian is the only man who flourished in England in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, that merits a place in this work on account of his erudition. This learned man, and voluminous writer, whose hiftory is very much perplexed, was born about the middle of the tenth century, and educated under Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, who is faid to have taken great pleasure in teaching youth the rules of grammar, and the art of translating Latin books into English 134. While Elfric was still a young man, and only in the station of a private monk, he was famous for his learning, as appears from a letter of his to Wulfin Bishop of Shereburn prefixed to a set of canons. or rather an epifcopal charge, which he had drawn up at the request and for the use of that prelate, who was probably not equal to a work of that kind himself 135. Being sent by Elphegus Bishop of Winchester, A. D. 987, to the monastery of Cerne in Dorfetshire, then newly founded, he there composed his grammar of the Latin tongue, which procured him the title of the Grammarian, and translated out of Latin into Saxon no fewer than eighty fermons or homilies for the use of the English clergy 136. These homilies are still extant in MS. in two volumes folio; and are well described by Mr. Wanley in his catalogue of

<sup>134</sup> Anglia Sacra, t.1. p. 130.

<sup>135</sup> Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 572. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 130.

<sup>1,6</sup> Id. ibid.

Saxon books 137. Elfric composed feveral other works; which procured him fo great a reputation for learning, that he was on that account advanced, by degrees, to the archiepifcopal

dignity.

While learning was thus gradually declining Learning throughout all the kingdoms of Europe, in the cultivated ninth and tenth centuries, the light of science began to fpring up in the East, among the Perfians and Arabians; and the posterity of those fierce barbarians who had burnt the famous library of Alexandria, became the fondest admirers of the sciences 138. By them they were preferved, when they were almost entirely lost in all other parts of the world; and it was through them that the knowledge of ancient learning was gradually reftored to the feveral nations of Europe.

The illustrious Gerbert, preceptor to Robert I. Life of King of France, and to Otho III. Emperor of Gerbert. Germany, who flourished towards the conclusion of the tenth century, was the first of the Christian clergy who had refolution to apply to the followers of Mahomet, for that instruction in the fciences which he could not obtain in any part of the Christian world. This literary hero (as he may be justly called) was educated in the monaftery of Fleury: but discovering the incapacity of his teachers, and prompted by an ardent

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<sup>137</sup> Hickesii Thesaur. t. 2. p. 1.

<sup>139</sup> Montucla Hist. Mathemat. t. 1. p. 339.

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thirst for knowledge, he fled from his monastery into Spain, and fpent feveral years among the Saracens at Corduba 139. Here he made himfelf master of the language and learning of the Arabians; particularly of their aftronomy, geometry, and arithmetic; in all of which they very much excelled. At his return into France, he was esteemed by some the most learned man, and by others the greatest magician, of his age 140. the nations in the north and west of Europe are particularly indebted to Gerbert for the first hints they received of the Arabian numeral figures and arithmetic. Our countryman William of Malmfbury, after telling us, that it was reported that Gerbert had been taught by the Saracens in Spain, to raife the devil, and to understand the language of birds, adds,-" It is, however, very certain, that he was the first who stole the " knowledge of the Arabian arithmetic from the "Saracens, and taught the rules of it, which " still continue to engage the attention and per-" plex the minds of our arithmeticians 141." As Gerbert returned into France, A. D. 970. and began to communicate the knowledge which he had collected among the Saracens, it is not improbable, that fome of the literati in Britain might be acquainted with the Arabian cyphers and arithmetic, in the end of this century, or the beginning of the next; which is much earlier

<sup>139</sup> W. Malmf. 1.2. c. 10.

<sup>141</sup> Id. ibid.

than is commonly believed 142. If the date over the very ancient gateway at Worcester was really A.D. 975. and in Arabian figures, we have direct evidence that these figures were known in England within five years after Gerbert's return from Spain 143. However this may be, this adventurous scholar, though born of mean parents, was gradually advanced on account of his genius and erudition, from one ecclefiaftical dignity to another, and at last placed, by his pupil Otho III. in the papal chair, where he assumed the name of Sylvester II. 144 So much was preeminence in learning efteemed, and fo well was it rewarded, even in that dark age!

As little more than one half of the eleventh Cent.XI. century falls within our prefent period, it will State of furnish few materials for literary history. The learning in the power of the Danes, and the confusion and mi- eleventh fery thereby occasioned, which had been so fatal century. to learning in the former century, still continued to increase in the beginning of this, and to produce the same effects. Oxford was reduced to ashes by those destructive ravagers A. D. 1009. and Cambridge shared the same fate the year after; by which all the establishments in these places in favour of learning, and for the education of youth, whatever they were, must have been ruined 145. In this most calamitous period,

<sup>142</sup> See Dr. Wallis's Algebra, c. 3, 4.

<sup>143</sup> See Philosoph. Transact. vol. 39. p. 131.

<sup>144</sup> Du Pin Hift. Ecclef. cent. 10. 145 Chron. Saxon. p. 139, 140.

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the greatest part of the monasteries, churches, cities, and towns in England, were destroyed; and whoever will take the trouble to read the history of the first seventeen years of the eleventh century in the Saxon Chronicle, the most authentic monument of those times, will meet with such a succession of slaughter and devastation, that he will be surprised the English were not extirpated, and their country reduced to a perfect desert. We have no reason to wonder, therefore, that the muses sled from such a scene of horror and misery, and that the cultivation of learning was almost universally neglected.

State of learning under the Danish kings of England.

The calamities which the English had suffered in their long ftruggle with the Danes were fo very great, that their subjection to the Danish voke became a kind of bleffing. For Canute the Great, the first King of England of the Danish line, being a wife, just, and good prince, treated his English subjects with equity and kindness, and endeavoured to repair the injuries which had been done to the country and its inhabitants in the late wars. In particular, he faw and lamented the low ftate to which learning was reduced, and founded fchools in many places for its revival 146. It is highly probable at leaft, that this prince repaired the schools at Oxford, and reftored to them their former privileges and revenues 147. Harold, the fon and fucceffor of Canute, was a very great barbarian, and confe-

<sup>146</sup> A. Wood, Antiquitat. Univers. Oxon. p. 43.

quently an enemy to learning. Of this he gave Cent. XI. fufficient proof by his plundering the university of Oxford of the revenues which had been bestowed upon it by its illustrious founder, and reftored to it by Canute the Great. "The schools " (fays Leland) which had been founded by " Alfred the Great, and had long flourished at "Oxford, were abused, spoiled, and dishonoured " by that cruel and barbarous Dane King Ha-" rold; who plundered them of all the revenues " which had been bestowed upon them by the " munificence of former princes; thinking that " he treated the fcholars with great lenity when " he left them the naked walls of their 66 houses, 148

The reftoration of the ancient line of the State of Anglo-Saxon kings, A. D. 1941. in the person learning in of Edward the Confessor, was an event favour- of Edward able to learning. For though Edward was not the Cona great prince, he was not unlearned for the age in which he lived, nor inattentive to the interests of learning. He repaired the injuries which his predecessor Harold had done to Oxford, which, in his reign (as we learn from Ingulphus), feems to have been the chief feminary of learning in England. " I was born (fays that " writer) in England, and of English parents, " in the beautiful city of London; educated " in letters in my tender years at Westminster; " from whence I was afterwards fent to the

the reign

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"ftudy of Oxford; where I made greater progress in the Aristotelian philosophy than many of my cotemporaries, and became very well acquainted with the rhetoric of Ci-cero 149." This author further acquaints us, that when he was a boy at Westminster school, and used to visit his father, who lived in the court of Edward the Confessor, he was often examined, both on the Latin language and on logic, by the beautiful and virtuous queen Edgitha, who excelled in both these branches of literature 150. A proof that learning was then esteemed a fashionable accomplishment even in ladies of the highest rank.

General observations on the state of learning.

Difficulties of acquiring learning in this period.

Bushis

Having thus deduced the history of learning through its various revolutions, from the beginning to the end of this dark period, it may be proper to conclude this chapter with a few general observations.

That we may not entertain too contemptible an opinion of our forefathers, who flourished in the benighted ages which we are now examining, it is necessary to pay due attention to their unhappy circumstances. To say nothing of that contempt for letters which they derived from their ancestors, and of the almost incessant wars in which they were engaged, it was difficult, or rather impossible, for any but the clergy, and a very few of the most wealthy among the laity, to obtain the least smattering of learning; be-

cause all the means of acquiring it were far be- cent. XI. vond their reach. It is impossible to learn to read and write even our own native tongue. which is now hardly efteemed a part of learning, without books, mafters, and materials for writing; but in those ages all these were so extremely scarce and dear, that none but great princes and wealthy prelates could procure them. We have already heard of a large eftate given by a king of Northumberland for a fingle volume; and the history of the middle ages abounds with examples of that kind 151. How then was it possible for persons of a moderate fortune to procure fo much as one book, much lefs fuch a number of books as to make their learning to read an accomplishment that would reward their trouble? It was then as difficult to borrow books as to buy them. It is a sufficient proof of this that a king of France was obliged to deposit a confiderable quantity of plate, and to get one of his nobility to join with him in a bond, under a high penalty, to return it, before he could procure the loan of one volume, which may now be purchased for a few shillings 152. Materials for writing were also very scarce and dear, which made few persons think of learning that art, This was one reason of the scarcity of books; and that great estates were often transferred from one owner to another by a mere verbal agree-

<sup>151</sup> Murat. Antiq. t. 3. p. 835.

<sup>152</sup> Hist. de Louis XI. par Comines, t.4. p. 281.

Cent.XI. ment, and the delivery of earth and stone, before witnesses, without any written deed 153. Parchment, in particular, on which all their books were written, was fo difficult to be procured, that many of the MSS. of the middle ages, which are still preserved, appear to have been written on parchment from which some former writing had been erafed 154. But if books and materials for writing were in those ages fo fcarce, good mafters, who were capable of teaching the sciences to any purpose, were still fcarcer, and more difficult to be procured. When there was not one man in England to the fouth of the Thames who understood Latin, it was not possible to learn that language, without fending for a teacher from fome foreign country. In these circumstances, can we be furprifed, that learning was fo imperfect, and in fo few hands? The temple of Science was then but a homely fabric, with few charms to allure worshippers, and at the same time furrounded with fteep and rugged precipices, which discouraged their approach. When Alfred the Great formed the defign of rendering learning more general than it had formerly been, he never dreamed of extending it to the common people, which he knew was quite impracticable, but only obliged perfons of rank and fortune, by a law, to fend their fons to school; and we have good reason to believe, that this was esteemed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ingulph. Hift., Murator. Antiquitat. t. 3. p. 834.

a very hard law, and that it was not long CentiXI. obeved.

the scien-

Befides the great difficulty of procuring maf. Methods ters who were capable of teaching the sciences, of teaching in the times we are now confidering, the per- ces, partiplexing incommodious methods in which they cularly were taught, rendered the acquifition of a mo- mufic, &c. derate degree of knowledge a very tedious and laborious work. How difficult, for example, was the acquifition of arithmetic in this period, before the introduction of the Arabian figures. when the teachers of this science had no other marks for numbers but the following feven letters of the Roman alphabet, MDCLXVI, or the twenty-feven letters of the Greek alphabet 155? We are apt to be surprised to hear Aldhelm, the most learned and ingenious man of the age in which he lived, speaking of arithmetic as a science almost exceeding the utmost powers of the human mind, when we know that it is now acquired by every boy of a common capacity, with great eafe, and in a little time 156. But our surprise will cease, when we reflect on the great facility of expressing and managing numbers by the help of the Arabian figures, which were then unknown, but are now in common use: "The usefulness (fays an excellent " judge) of these numeral figures, which we re-" ceived from the Arabs, and they from the In-

<sup>155</sup> See Bedæ Opera, Colonæ, A.D. 1612, p. 8.

<sup>156</sup> See p. 15.

" dians, is exceeding great in all parts of arith-" metic; infomuch that we, to whom it is now known, cannot but wonder how it was pof-" fible for the ancients to manage great num-" bers without it. And certainly fuch vaft " numbers as we are now wont to confider, " could not in any tolerable way be managed, " if we had no other way of defigning numbers "than by the Latin numeral letters MDCLXVI." "It is true the ancients had the same way of " distributing numbers that we have, collecting " units into tens, and tens into hundreds, and " hundreds into thousands, and thousands into " myriads, &c.; but they wanted a convenient " way of notation, or defignation of them, procoportional to that distribution; infomuch that when they came to thousands or myriads, they " had fcarce any more convenient ways of de-" figning them than by words at length for " want of figures '57." It was probably this want of figures that gave rife to digital or manual arithmetic; in which numbers were expressed, and calculations made, by the different positions of the hands and fingers. This appears to us a childish play; but it was then a serious fludy, and is explained at great length by venerable Bede 158. Mankind commonly fall upon various contrivances for accomplishing their defigns, before they hit upon that which is at once the most easy and the most effectual. In this

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Wallis's Algebra, c.5. 158 Bedæ Opera, p.127, &c.

period, music was a most important part of a Cent.XI. learned education, and one of the four sciences which constituted the quadrivium, or highest class of philosophical learning. But the modes of teaching both the theory and practice of mufic, were fo imperfect and incommodious, that the youth commonly spent nine or ten years in the study of it, to no great purpose, until Guydo Aretin, a monk of St. Croix in Italy in the eleventh century, invented the scale or gamut now used, which greatly facilitated the acquifition of this science 150. The same observation might be made concerning the methods of teaching geometry, aftronomy, and all the other sciences. These methods were so imperfect and perplexed, that it required much longer time, and greater degree of genius and application, to make any proficiency in these sciences, than it doth at prefent. For these reasons, we ought rather to felicitate ourselves on the happiness of our circumstances for the acquisition of knowledge, than to boast of our superior talents, or infult the memory of our ancestors on account of their ignorance, which was in a great measure unavoidable. Brickly sporty signaturalist as words

Every intelligent and attentive reader must some scihave observed, that several branches of learning, ences not mentioned which are now in high efteem, and much studied, in the have hardly been mentioned in the preceding above hishistory, as particularly geography, law, and me-

Cent. XI.

dicine. This hath not been owing to inattention, far less to any degree of disregard to these parts of learning, whose importance and utility are undeniable, but to the real state of things in the ages we are now examining, in which these sciences were very much neglected. A few observations, however, upon the state of these, and some other branches of learning, in this period, may not be improper in this place.

State of geography.

The prodigious extent of the Roman empire made the knowledge of geography necessary to government, and at the fame time rendered the acquifition of it eafy; but when that mighty empire was torn in pieces by the barbarous nations, the connection between its provinces was diffolved, and their geography neglected: for each of these illiterate nations, anxious to preferve the province which it had feized, had little or no curiofity to know the fituation and state of other countries; and the intercourse between these nations for several ages was very inconfiderable 160. To the inhabitants of one country, in this dark period, all the other countries of the world were terræ incognitæ; of which they knew nothing, and about which they gave themfelves little or no concern. Even the learned men of those ages being chiefly monks, confined to their cells, had little defire, and less opportunity, of knowing the lituation, extent, cliauthorise as ment of the strong average authorities

<sup>260</sup> See Dr. Robertson's excellent History of Charles V. vol. 1. P. 325.

fledeefs

mate, foil, productions, &c. of the feveral Cent. XI. countries of the world. At prefent, indeed, a man may become an excellent geographer, without ftirring out of his elbow-chair, by the help of books, globes, charts, maps, and mafters; but at that time they had no fuch means of obtaining this kind of knowledge. Travellers were also very few; and these few were either pilgrims or merchants, who travelled in quest of relics or of riches, and not of geographical knowledge. When all these circumstances are duly confidered, we shall not be much furprifed that geography was fo much neglected, and fo little known, in the ages we are now delineating. with the same in the same by docide The Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, and State of

for a century and a half after, had no written law. laws, but were governed by certain ancient and well-known customs, like their ancestors in Germany 161. In that period, therefore, law could not be confidered as a science. Even after their laws were committed to writing, they were for a long time fo fhort, plain, and inartificial, that little study was required to understand them. Accordingly the far greatest part of the aldermen, sheriffs, and other judges of England. were for feveral ages very illiterate; and Alfred the Great was the first of our English kings who made the knowledge of letters a necessary qualification in those who were concerned in the

Cent. XI. administration of justice 162. But that knowledge, which from thenceforward was efteemed requifite in a judge, could hardly be called learning; because it confisted in little more than a capacity of reading the doom-book in his mother-tongue. This feems to have been all that was required of those who were called law-men and wife-men, who were chosen to be sheriffs, judges, and affessors to the aldermen, in their county courts 163. Though some collections of the laws and canons of the church were made in the eleventh century, the canon law had not acquired fo much authority, or affumed fuch a regular form, as to be taught or studied as a science in the seminaries of learning in this period. 164

State of medicine.

The defire of life and health is fo natural to mankind, that the means of preferving thefe, and of healing wounds, bruifes, fractures, &c. have been some part of their study in all countries, and in all ages. But among illiterate nations, like the Anglo-Saxons, the means employed for these purposes are not commonly the refult of study and rational investigation; but confift in certain pretended fecrets, or noftrums, handed down from one age to another, accompanied with many whimfical rites and incantations, to which they are supposed to owe their

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<sup>162</sup> Affer. Vita Alfredi, p. 21.

<sup>163</sup> Murator. Antiquitat. t. 1. p. 487, &c.

<sup>164</sup> Brucker. Hift. Philosoph. t. 3. p. 655.

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fuccess. In this state of things, these medical Cent.XI. fecrets are for the most part in the possession of the most ignorant of the people; particularly of old women, who were the most admired physicians among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and feveral other nations, in the dark ages we are now examining. "One reason (says a learned " antiquary) of the great influence of the wo-" men among the northern nations, is this: " while the men are employed in hunting and " war, the women, having much time upon " their hands, spend some part of it in ga-"thering and preparing herbs, for healing "wounds and curing difeases; and being na-" turally superstitious, they administer their me-"dicines with many religious rites and cere-" monies, which excite admiration, and make " the men believe that they are possessed of cer-" tain supernatural secrets, and a kind of di-" vine skill "65." After the Anglo-Saxons had embraced the Christian religion, they did not look with fo favourable an eye on those fuperstitious ceremonies; and when the clergy began to apply a little to learning, they became dangerous rivals to the medical old women, who gradually funk in their reputation. It appears however from many stories of miraculous cures related by the best of our ancient historians, that these clerical doctors were almost as superstitious as their female predecessors, and depended more on

Cent. XI. the virtues of holy water than of the medicines which they administered 166. After Alfred the Great fet the example of translating books out of Latin into the Saxon language, some medical books were translated into that tongue; particularly L. Apuleius, concerning the virtues of herbs, which is ftill preserved in the Bodleian library, and is described by Mr. Wanley in his catalogue of Saxon books 167. By this, and other means, a few of the most studious and inquisitive of the clergy, and others, acquired some knowledge of physic; and before the conclusion. of this period, there feem to have been fome phyficians, or rather furgeons, by profession, particularly in the courts of princes. In the court of the kings of Wales, the physician was the twelfth person in rank, and appears to have been chiefly employed in healing wounds and broken bones; for which he had by law certain established fees 108. For curing a flesh-wound that was not dangerous, this court-physician was allowed no other perquifite but fuch of the garments of the wounded person as were stained with blood; but for curing any of the three dangerous or mortal wounds, he was allowed a fee of one hundred and eighty pence, and his maintenance, or of one pound without his maintenance, befides the blood-stained garments. The three dangerous or mortal wounds were

<sup>166</sup> Bedæ Hift. Eccles. 1. 5. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

<sup>167</sup> Hickesii Thesaur. t. 2. p. 72. 168 Leges Wallicæ, p. 44, &c. thefe; dit.

these; -a wound on the head that discovered cent.XI. the fcull,—a wound in the trunk of the body that discovered any of the viscera, -and the fracture of the legs or arms. If the court-phylician performed the operation of the trepan in curing a wound in the head, he was allowed four pence extraordinary for performing that operation. When he made use of the red ointment in curing a wound, he might charge twelve pence for it; but when he used an ointment made of herbs, he could only charge four pence 169. We are not told the ingredients nor the manner of preparing these ointments; and in general, it may be affirmed, that we are not furnished with authentic materials for composing a minute and particular history of physic in the Anglo-Saxon times.

The most agreeable reflection that can be made The darkon the state of learning in Britain in the period est period we have been examining, is this, - That we have now passed through the most obscure uncomfortable part of that long night in which Great Britain, and all the other nations of Europe, were involved after the fall of the Roman empire, and are happily arrived upon the verge of day. For foon after the establishment of the Norman race of kings on the throne of England, feveral events happened which contributed to difpel that profound darkness which had so long prevailed, and to usher in the morning-

Cent. XI.

light of learning; fo that we may fafely promife those who have had the patience to attend us in this most gloomy part of our journey, more agreeable entertainment in all the succeeding stages.

" \_\_\_\_Now at last the facred influence

" Of light appears, and from the walls of heaven

" Shoots far into the bosom of dim night

" A glimmering dawn." 170

197 Milton's Paradife Loft, Book 2. fub fin.

are not told the ingredients nor the manner of preparing thele connents; and in general; it may be offered but we are not familied with anthentic materials for goopping a minute and particular hatters of pityle in the Arglockason families of the connection of the

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Book II.

## HISTORY

## GREAT BRITAIN.

## BOOK II.

## CHAP. V.

The history of Arts in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449. to the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066.

THE arts are so necessary to the support, Importand fo conducive to the comfort of human ance of the life, that they are of the greatest importance to mankind in every age and country. Without the arts, the natural fecundity of the earth, the genial warmth of the fun, and the regular revolutions of the feafons, are of fmall avail: but by the almost creative power of art, barren deferts are converted into fertile fields, covered with lowing herds, or golden harvests, interfpersed with pleasant villages, populous towns, and crowded cities. By the help of art, mankind

kind acquire a kind of dominion over nature, penetrate into the bowels of the earth, travel over the waves of the fea on the wings of the wind, and make all the elements subservient to their purposes. In one word, the arts are the great means of promoting the populousness, power, and greatness, of states and kingdoms, as well as the felicity of individuals; and therefore few, we apprehend, will blame us for giving them a place in history. If this had been always done, the annals of mankind would have been more instructive and entertaining than they are. But, unhappily, the muse of history hath been so much in love with Mars, that she hath conversed but little with Minerva.

Decline of the arts in Britain.

loggical

The arts, like all other human things, are liable to viciflitudes: they often change their feats; and flourish at one time; and languish at another, in the same country. In the Roman times, as we have already seen, the arts were in a very flourishing state in this island, particularly in provincial Britain. But when the Roman power began to decline, the arts began to languish; and the most skilful artists of all kinds, dreading the depredations of the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, and finding neither security nor employment in this island, gradually retired to the continent. The final departure of the Romans, with the arrival of the Saxons, and the ruinous wars that followed, finished the destruction of

BISIT THE WAS See books. C.5.

the arts. For the dastardly unwarlike Britons, not daring to face their fierce invaders in the field, took shelter behind those walls and ramparts which the Romans had erected; which drew upon them the desperate attacks of the Saxons, who never refted till they had laid them all in ruins. In the course of these wars, one city was taken and destroyed after another; so that, before the full establishment of the heptarchy, almost all the beautiful monuments of Roman art and industry in Britain were ruined or defaced. An ancient writer who was an eyewitness of these scenes of desolation, hath painted them in very strong colours. " A fire was " kindled by the facrilegious hands of the " Saxons, which spread from city to city, and " never ceased until it had burnt up the whole " furface of the ifland, from fea to fea, with " its flaming tongue. The walls of all the colo-" nies were beat down to the ground with bat-" tering rams, and their inhabitants flain with "the point of the fword. Nothing was to be " feen in the streets, O horrible to relate! but " fragments of ruined towers, temples, and walls, fallen from their lofty feats, befprinkled " with blood, and mixed with mangled car-" cafes 2." This barbarous and destructive method of proceeding was partly owing to the natural ferocity of the Saxons, and partly to the obstinate refistance of the Britons; by which

that beautiful country, which the one struggled to conquer, and the other to defend, was stripped of all its ornaments in the fcuffle. At the end of those long wars, when the Saxons obtained possession of the finest provinces of Britain, by the extirpation of their ancient inhabitants, they were really a barbarous and unhappy people, destitute of the most desirable accommodations. and of the arts by which they are procured; without models to imitate, or mafters to teach them these arts. By this means we are once more reduced to the difagreeable necessity of viewing the arts, both necessary and ornamental, in a very rude imperfect state. An unpleasant object! on which our readers of the best taste will not wish us to dwell long

Plan of this chapter. In delineating the state of the arts in this period, we shall observe the same order as in the former; beginning with those which are necessary to the support and preservation of human life, and may therefore be called the necessary arts; and concluding with those which administer to its delight, and may therefore be called the pleasing or ornamental arts.

Arts of procuring food.

As nothing is so necessary to the preservation of human life as food, those arts by which it is procured must be of all others the most necessary; which are chiefly these four, hunting, pasturage, fishing, and agriculture.

Hunting.

Cæsar and Tacitus seem to differ in their accounts of the ancient Germans, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons, with respect to hunting; the

former

former affirming, that they fpent their whole time in hunting when they were not engaged in war; and the latter, that when they were not at war, they were not very much addicted to hunting, but spent the greatest part of their time in idleness or feating. The reason of these different accounts, which were probably both true; feems to be this, that when Cæfar wrote, which was near two centuries before Tacitus, hunting was not merely an amusement among the Germans, but an art on which they very much depended for their subfistence; but when Tacitus wrote, agriculture was fo much improved, that hunting was no longer a necessary art, but rather a diversion, which they followed only when they were prompted by inclination, and not by necessity. However this may be, it is sufficiently certain, that though our Anglo-Saxon ancestors did not disdain to use the game which they had caught in hunting, yet they did not very much depend upon it for their sublistence; and therefore as hunting amongst them was rather a diversion than a necessary art, it will fall more naturally in our way in another place. 4

At the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, this island Pasturage. abounded in numerous slocks and herds, which these conquerors seized, and pastured for their own use; and after their settlement they still continued to follow pasturage as one of the

<sup>3</sup> Cæfar. de Bel. Gal, 1.6. c.21. Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. 7.

chief means of their sublistence. This is evident from the great number of laws that were made in the Anglo-Saxon times, for regulating the prices of all kinds of tame cattle, directing the manner in which they were to be pastured, and for preferving them from thieves, robbers, and beafts of prey 5. As the Welsh in this period, from the nature of their country, and other circumstances, depended still more on their flocks and herds for their fupport, their laws respecting pasturage were more numerous and minute than those of the Saxons'. From these laws we learn, among many other particulars which need not be mentioned, that all the cattle of a village, though belonging to different owners, were pastured together in one herd, under the direction of one person (with proper assistants); whose oath, in all disputes about the cattle under his care, was decifive.

Fishing.

When we confider the fituation of the countries inhabited by our Anglo-Saxon anceftors, both on the continent and in this island, having fo great a tract of fea-coast, and so many fine rivers, abounding with fish of all kinds, we can hardly suppose that they were ignorant of the art of fishing. We are affured, however, by venerable Bede, that the South-Saxons were so ignorant of this very necessary and useful art, that they could catch no other fish but eels, till they

Wilkins Leges Saxon, passim. Leges Wallice, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p.94.

were instructed by Wilfred Bishop of York, and his followers, who took shelter in their country A.D. 678. The people of the little kingdom of Suffex were at this time afflicted with fuch a dreadful famine, that great numbers of them perished with hunger, and others precipitated themselves from the rocks into the sea in despair. "When the Bishop (fays Bede) came " into this kingdom, and beheld the miferable " havoc that was made by the famine, he " taught the poor people to procure some suf-" tenance for themselves by fishing. For though "their fea and rivers abounded with fish, they " had not skill to catch any of them but a few eels. Having, therefore, collected all the eel-nets he could procure, the Bishop sent his " own fervants, with fome others, out to fea; "where, by the divine bleffing, they caught " three hundred fishes, of various kinds; which " he divided into three equal parts, beftowing " one hundred on the poor people of the coun-" try, another on those to whom the nets be-" longed, and keeping the third for the use of " his own family. The Bishop gained the af-" fections of the people of Suffex to a won-" derful degree, by teaching them this useful " art; and they liftened more willingly to his " preaching, from whom they had received fo " great a temporal benefit "." After the Chriftian religion was fully established in all the king-

<sup>8</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.4. c. 14.

doms of the heptarchy, the art of fishing became necessary on a religious account, as both the clergy and laity lived, some part of the year, chiefly on fish. This art seems to have been practised chiefly, if not wholly, by a particular set of slaves, in those times, who were bought and fold, together with their wives and children, the implements of their trade, and the places where they fished. We learn also from the laws of Ina King of Wessex, that some part of the rent of those farms which lay on the banks of rivers was paid in fish; which obliged the ceorls who occupied those farms, to employ some of their slaves in fishing. 10

Agriculture among the Britons.

As agriculture is one of the most excellent and useful arts, and the chief means of improving and increasing the productions of the earth, for the fupport of human life, it merits our particular attention in every period. We have already feen, that this noble art had been carried to fo great perfection in provincial Britain in the flourishing times of the Roman government, that it afforded very great quantities of corn annually for exportation ii. But agriculture, like all the other arts, declined with the declenfion of the Roman power in Britain, and was almost deftroyed by the departure of that industrious people. This, however, was not fo much owing to want of skill in the British husbandmen, who had been instructed by the Romans, as to the

<sup>9</sup> Du Cange Gloff. voc. Piscatores.

<sup>30</sup> Spelman Gloff. voc. Firma.

cruel and frequent incursions of the Saxons. Scots, and Piets, who both destroyed the fruits of their labours, and interrupted them in the exercise of their art. For when they enjoyed fome respite from these incursions for a few years, and were allowed to cultivate their lands in peace, these produced, as we are told by Gildas, the greatest abundance of all kinds of grain 12. After the arrival of the Saxons, the unhappy Britons were involved in fuch long wars, and fo many calamities, that they gradually loft much of their skill in agriculture, and were at last expelled from those parts of their country that were fittest for cultivation. We need not be furprifed, therefore, that the posterity of the ancient Britons, after they were confined to the mountains of Wales, were but unskilful husbandmen; and that they applied more to pasturage than to agriculture. This is evident from their laws, by which many mulcts, and even the prices of men's lives of all ranks, were appointed to be paid in cattle 13. It appears, however, from these very laws, that agriculture was confidered by the ancient Britons of this period as an object of very great importance, and made the subject of many regulations. By one of these laws, they were prohibited to plough with horses, mares, or cows, but only with oxen 14. Their ploughs feem to have been very flight and inartificial; for it was

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<sup>12</sup> Historia Gildæ, c. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p.26-72. 201, 202, 203.

<sup>14</sup> Id. p. 283.

enacted, that no man should undertake to guide a plough who could not make one; and that the driver should make the ropes of twisted willows, with which it was drawn 15. But flight as thefe ploughs were, it was usual for fix or eight perfons to form themselves into a society for fitting out one of them, and providing it with oxen, and every thing necessary for ploughing; and many minute and curious laws were made for the regulation of fuch focieties 16. This is a fufficient proof both of the poverty of the hufbandmen, and of the imperfect state of agriculture among the ancient Britons, in this period. If any person laid dung upon a field, with the confent of the proprietor, he was by law allowed the use of it for one year; and if the dung was carried out on a cart, in great abundance, he was allowed the use of the field for three years. Whoever cut down a wood, and converted the ground into arable, with the confeat of the owner, was to have the use of it five years. If any man folded his cattle for a whole year upon a piece of ground belonging to another, with his confent, he was allowed to cultivate that ground for his own benefit four years 17. All these laws were evidently made for the encouragement of agriculture, by increasing the quantity and improving the quality of their arable grounds. The British legislators of this period

<sup>15</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 283.

<sup>17</sup> Id. p. 52, &c.

<sup>16</sup> Id. ibid.

discover the greatest possible anxiety for the prefervation of the fruits of the earth, and the labours of the husbandman; there being no fewer than eighty-fix laws made for guarding them from every injury, or for repairing the injuries which they sustained 18. Nor was all this care unneceffary, in an open country, where cattle very much abounded, and corn was very fcarce and precious. It is highly probable that agriculture was in the fame, or perhaps in a more imperfect state, among the Scots and Picts, in the northern parts of this island; though we can fay nothing with certainty on that fubject, for want of authentic monuments. The ancient Britons in this period were not abfolutely ignorant of the art of gardening; though their gardens feem to have produced nothing but a few apples and pot-herbs, with flax, leeks, and onions 19. \_\_\_ It is now time to take a fhort view of the ftate of agriculture among the Anglo-Saxons in this period.

The ancient Germans, from whom our Anglo- Among Saxon ancestors derived their origin and man-the Engners, were not much addicted to agriculture, but depended chiefly on their flocks and herds for their fubfiftence 20. These restless and haughty warriors esteemed the cultivation of their lands too ignoble and laborious an employment for themselves, and therefore committed it

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<sup>18</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 28-298.

<sup>19</sup> Id. p. 286.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, l. 7. Cæfar. de Bel. Gal. 1.6.

wholly to their women and flaves 21. They were even at pains to contrive laws to prevent their contracting a tafte for agriculture, left it should render them less fond of arms and warlike expeditions 12. Those who inhabited the sea-coasts. and particularly the Angles, Iutes, Danes, and Saxons, were fo much addicted to piracy, and depended fo much on plunder for their fubfiftence, that they were more averse to, and more ignorant of agriculture, than the other Germans. From all these circumstances, we may be very certain, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this island, were much better warriors than husbandmen, more expert at wielding the fword than guiding the plough: For some time after their arrival, fighting was their only business; because corn, and all other provisions, were furnished to their hands by the Britons, according to agreement. Even after the commencement of hostilities between them and the Britons, they fubfifted chiefly by plunder, until they had obtained an establishment, by the expulsion or extirpation of the greatest part of the ancient inhabitants, whose lands they divided amongst themfelves. Having then no enemies to plunder, they found it necessary to give some attention to the cultivation of their lands, in order to raife those provisions which they could no longer procure by the point of their fwords.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 15.

<sup>22</sup> Id. c. 26.

The Saxon princes and great men, who, in the division of the conquered lands, obtained the largest shares, are said to have subdivided their estates into two parts, which were called the inlands and the outlands. The inlands were those which lay most contiguous to the mansion-house of their owner, which he kept in his own immediate possession, and cultivated by his flaves, under the direction of a bailiff, for the purpose of raising provisions for his family. The outlands were those which lay at a greater diftance from the mansion-house, and were let to the ceorls or farmers of those times, at a certain rent; which was very moderate, and generally paid in kind 23. The owners of land were not at liberty to exact as high a rent from their ceorls or tenants as they could obtain; but the rates of thefe rents were afcertained by law, according to the number of hides, or plough-lands, of which a farm confifted. The reason of this seems to have been, that the first ceorls or farmers among the Anglo-Saxons were freemen and foldiers, and had contributed to the conquest of the country by their arms, and were therefore entitled to be treated with indulgence, and protected by law from the oppression of their superiors. By the laws of Ina King of the West-Saxons, who flourished in the end of the feventh and beginning of the eighth century, a farm confifting of ten hides or plough-lands was to pay the following

<sup>23</sup> Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 12.

rent, viz. ten casks of honey, - three hundred loaves of bread, - twelve casks of strong ale, -thirty casks of small ale, -two oxen, ten wethers, - ten geese, - twenty hens, - ten cheefes, - one cask of butter, - five salmon, twenty pounds of forage, - and one hundred eels 24. There feems to be fome mistake in the quantity of forage, which is too trifling to be mentioned, and the whole rent is very low, in proportion to the quantity of land; which may be confidered as an evidence, both of the free and comfortable condition of the ceorls, and of the imperfect state of agriculture among the Saxons. In fome places thefe rents were paid in wheat, rye, oats, malt, flour, hogs, fheep, &c. according to the nature of the farm, or the custom of the country 25. There is, however, fufficient evidence, that money-rents for lands were not altogether unknown in England in this period26. The greatest part of the crown lands in every county was farmed in this manner, by ceorls, who paid a certain quantity of provisions of different kinds, for the support of the king's household, according to the nature and extent of the lands which they possessed 27. "We have been " informed (fays the author of the black book " in the exchequer), that in ancient times our " kings received neither gold nor filver from " their tenants, but only provisions for the daily

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 25. Spelman. Gloff. voc. Firma.

<sup>26</sup> Historia Eliensis, l.r. c.52.

<sup>27</sup> Id. ibid.

" use of their household; and the officers who " were appointed to manage the king's lands, " knew very well what kinds, and what quan-" tities of provisions every tenant was obliged to " pay. This custom continued even after the " conquest, during the whole reign of William I.; " and I myfelf have converfed with feveral old " people who had feen the royal tenants paying " their rents in feveral kinds of provisions at the "king's court 28." In some other countries of Europe, in this period, particularly in Italy, the rents of lands confifted in a certain proportion (most commonly the fourth or fifth part) of the different kinds of grain which thefe lands produced 29. But in England the rents of land were much lower, on account of the more imperfect state of agriculture. If the lowness of the rents of lands in England in this period is a proof of the imperfection of agriculture, the lowness of their prices when they were fold is still a ftronger evidence of the same fact, as well as of the great scarcity of money. In the ancient history of the church of Ely, published by Dr. Gale, the curious reader will meet with accounts of many purchases of lands that were made by Æthelwold, the founder of that church, and by other benefactors, in the reign of Edgar the Peaceable, in the tenth century 30. By carefully comparing all these accounts together, it plainly

29 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 353.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Liber niger Scaccarii, l. 1. c. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Hist. Britan.xv. a Tho. Gale edit. t. 1. p.477, &c.

appears that the ordinary price of an acre of the best land, in that part of England, in those times, was fixteen Saxon pennies, or about four shillings of our money: a very trifling price indeed, not only in comparison of the prices of land in our times, but even in comparison of the prices of other commodities in those very times. For in the same history of the church of Ely, we are told, that Bishop Æthelwold, and Abbot Brithnod, in paying for an effate which they had purchased for that church, gave twenty sheep for twenty Saxon shillings, and one palfrey for ten of these shillings, of the price; from whence it follows, that four sheep were then of the same value with one acre of the best land, and one horse of the same value with three acres 31. This is fo exceedingly different from the prefent state of things, that it would appear quite incredible, if it was not supported by the most unquestionable evidence. The frequent and deplorable famines which afflicted England, from time to time, in the course of this period, and carried off great multitudes of its inhabitants, afford a further and more melancholy proof of the wretched state of cultivation 32. In particular, there was fo great a fearcity of grain A.D. 1043. that a quarter of wheat fold for fixty Saxon pennies, which contained as much filver as fifteen of our shillings, and were equal in value to feven or

<sup>31</sup> Hist. Britan. xv. a Tho. Gale edit. t.1. p. 471.

<sup>32</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 65. 123. 134. 157, &c.

eight pounds of our money 33: a most extravagant price, which must have involved not only the poor, but even those in the middle ranks of life, in the most extreme distress. In one word, we have fufficient evidence, that England, which in the Roman times was one of the great granaries of Europe, and afforded prodigious quantities of corn for exportation, was fo ill cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons, that in the most favourable feafons it yielded only a fcanty provision for its own inhabitants, and in unfavourable feafons was a scene of the most deplorable distress and fcarcity. the test ordering the court of

When this was the state of agriculture, it will Practices not be proper to fpend much time in delineating of the Anthe practices of the Anglo-Saxon husbandmen. husband-They ploughed, fowed, and harrowed their men. fields; but as all these operations were performed by wretched flaves, who had little or no interest in their fuccess, we may be certain that they were executed in a very flovenly and fuperficial manner: their ploughs were very flight, and (like those of the people of Shetland at present) had but one stilt or handle 34. Though watermills for grinding corn were well known to the Wifigoths in Spain, and the Longobards in Italy, as appears from the ancient laws of these nations, the Anglo-Saxons feem to have been unacquainted with them during fome part of this

<sup>33</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuthen. p. 296.

period; and had no better way of converting their corn into meal, than by grinding it in handmills that were turned by women. By the laws of Ethelbert King of Kent, a particular mulct was imposed upon any man who debauched the king's grinding maid 35. Ina King of Wessex made feveral laws for the inclofing of arable lands, and regulating the proportion of grounds to be left in tillage at the departure of a tenant 36. The lands belonging to the monasteries were by much the best cultivated; because the secular canons who possessed them spent some part of their time in cultivating their own lands. Venerable Bede, in his life of Easterwin Abbot of Weremouth, tells us, "That this abbot, being " a strong man, and of a humble disposition, " used to affift his monks in their rural labours, " fometimes guiding the plough by its stilt or " handle, fometimes winnowing corn, and fome-" times forging instruments of husbandry with a " hammer upon an anvil 37." For in those times the husbandmen were under a necessity of making many implements of husbandry with their own hands.

Art of gar dening.

When the arts and practices of the husbandman were so imperfect, it cannot be supposed that those of the gardener had made greater progress. There is, however, sufficient evidence, that gardens were cultivated, and fruit-trees

<sup>35</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 3.

Id. p. 25.

<sup>87</sup> Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 296.

planted and ingrafted, in this period, particularly by the monks. Brithnod, the first abbot of Ely, is celebrated for his skill in gardening, and for the excellent gardens and orchards which he made near that monastery. " He performed " another great and useful work, which I think " it is proper to relate to his praife. Being skil-" ful in the arts of planting and gardening, and " confidering that the place would be more plea-" fant and beautiful if it was furrounded with " plantations, he laid out very extensive gardens " and orchards, which he filled with a great " variety of herbs, shrubs, and fruit-trees. In a " few years, the trees which he planted and in-" grafted, appeared at a distance like a wood, " loaded with the most excellent fruits in great " abundance, and added much to the com-" modiousness and beauty of the place." 38

The useful and necessary art of architecture Architecsuffered no less than that of agriculture, by the ture. departure of the Romans. That ingenious and active people, with the affiftance of their British fubjects, who were instructed by them, had adorned their dominions in this island with a prodigious number of elegant and magnificent structures, both for public and private use 39. Some of these structures were built with so much folidity, that they would have refifted all the attacks of time, and remained to this very day, if they

<sup>28</sup> Hift. Elienf. apud Gale, l. 2. c. 2.

<sup>39</sup> See vol. 2. p. 118, &c.

had not been wilfully destroyed \*. This was done by the Anglo-Saxons in the course of their long wars against the unhappy Britons: for it seems to have been a maxim with these ferocious conquerors, to destroy all the towns and castles which they took from their enemies, instead of preserving them for their own use.

Among the Anglo-Saxons.

It cannot be supposed, that a people who wantonly demolished so many beautiful and useful structures, had any taste for the arts by which they had been erected. The truth is, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this island, were almost totally ignorant of these arts, and, like all the other nations of Germany, had been accustomed to live in wretched hovels, built of wood or earth, and covered with straw or the branches of trees: nor did they much improve in the knowledge of architecture for two hundred years after their arrival 41. During that period, masonry was quite unknown and unpractifed in this island; and the walls even of cathedral churches were built of wood. "There was a " time (fays venerable Bede) when there was not " a stone church in all the land; but the custom " was to build them all of wood. - Finan, the " fecond Bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy-island, " built a church in that island A. D. 652. for a " cathedral, which yet was not of stone, but of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The famous edifice, called *Arthur's Oven*, on the banks of the Carron in Scotland, which was almost quite entire when it was taken down A.D. 1742. is a sufficient proof of this.

<sup>41</sup> Cluver. Antiq. German. p. 86, &c.

" wood, and covered with reeds; and fo it con-" tinued, till Eadbert, the fuccessor of St. Cuth-" bert, and feventh bishop of Lindisfarne, took " away the reeds, and covered it all over, both " roof and walls, with sheets of lead 42." The first cathedral of York was built of the same materials; and a church of stone was esteemed a kind of prodigy in those times that merited a place in history." " Paulinus, the first bishop of "York, built a church of stone in the city of " Lincoln, whose walls (fays Bede) are still " ftanding, though the roof is fallen down; and " fome healing miracles are wrought in it every " year, for the benefit of those who have the faith to feek them." 43 yo H to lambed to out?

There does not feem to have been fo much as In Scotone church of stone, nor any artists who could build one, in all Scotland, at the beginning of the eighth century. For Naitan King of the Picts, in his famous letter to Ceolfred Abbot of Weremouth, A.D. 710. earneftly intreats him to fend him fome majous to build a church of stone in his kingdom, in imitation of the Romans; which he promifes to dedicate to the honour of the apostle Peter, to whom the abbey of Weremouth was dedicated: and we are told by Bede, who was then living in that abbey, that the reverend Abbot Ceolfred granted this pious request, and fent masons according to his desire 44.

Masonry

In one word, there is no church on this fide

<sup>42</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. 1. 3. c.4. 1.3. c.25.

<sup>43</sup> Id. L. 2. c. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Id. 1.5. c. 21. ser dr. o thickly and libbit of

Maionry restored in England.

Masonry was restored, and some other arts connected with it introduced into England, towards the end of the feventh century, by two clergymen, who were great travellers, and had often vifited Rome, where they had acquired some taste for these arts. These were, the famous Wilfrid Bishop of York, and afterwards of Hexham, and Benedict Biscop, founder of the abbey of Weremouth. Wilfrid, who was one of the most ingenious, active, and magnificent prelates of the feventh century, was a great builder, and erected feveral structures at York, Rippon, and Hexham, which were the admiration of the age in which he flourished 45. The cathedral of Hexham, which was one of these structures, is thus described by his biographer: " Having obtained a piece of ground " at Hexham from Queen Etheldreda, he there " founded a most magnificent church, which he " dedicated to the bleffed apoftle St. Andrew. " As the plan of this facred structure seems to " have been inspired by the spirit of God, it " would require a genius much superior to mine " to describe it properly. How large and strong were the fubterraneous buildings, conftructed " of the finest polished stones! How magnificent the superstructure, with its lofty roof, "fupported by many pillars, its long and high walls, its fublime towers, and winding flairs! "In one word, there is no church on this fide

Malondy

The Bods Hill Ender Ca col. I.

" of the Alps fo great and beautiful 45." This admired edifice, of which fome veftiges are still remaining, was built by mafons, and other artificers, brought from Rome, by the munificence of its generous founder 47. Benedict Biscop was the cotemporary and companion of Wilfrid in fome of his journies, and had the same taste for the arts 48. He made no fewer than fix journies to Rome, chiefly with a view of collecting books, pictures, statues, and other curiofities, and of perfuading artificers of various kinds to come from Italy and France, and fettle in England. Having obtained a grant of a confiderable effate from Ecgfrid King of Northumberland, near the mouth of the river Were, he there founded a monastery A.D. 674. " About a year after the " foundations of this monastery were laid, Be-" nedict croffed the fea into France, where he " collected a number of masons, and brought them over with him, in order to build the " church of his monastery of stone, after the "Roman manner; of which he was a great ad-" mirer. His love to the apostle Peter, to " whom he defigned to dedicate his church, " made him urge these workmen to labour so " hard, that mass was celebrated in it about a " year after it was founded. When the work " was far advanced, he fent agents into France, " to procure, if possible, some glass-makers, a

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<sup>46</sup> Eddii Vita Wilfridi, c. 22.

<sup>47</sup> W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific. 1. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Id. ibid.

"kind of artificers quite unknown in England, and to bring them over to glaze the windows of his church and monastery. These agents were successful, and brought several glass-makers with them; who not only performed the work required by Benedict, but instructed the English in the art of making glass for windows, lamps, drinking-vessels, and other uses." 49

Art of making glass.

From this authentic account, it appears, that it is now about eleven hundred years fince this very elegant and ufeful art of making glass was brought into England. Before that period, the windows of houses and churches were filled either with linen cloth, or with lattices of wood. This we learn from the following account given by William of Malmfbury, of the great reparations that were made on the cathedral of York by Bishop Wilfrid, about the same time, and with the affiftance of the same artificers. "The " holy bishop was much grieved to see the de-" caying and almost ruinous state of the cathe-" dral church of York, which had been built " by King Edwin at the defire of Paulinus; and " immediately fet about the reparation of it. " He restored the roof, and covered it with " fheets of lead; white-washed the walls with " lime, and put glass into the windows; some " of which had before admitted the light

boid a

<sup>49</sup> Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuth.

" through fine linen cloths, and others through " lattices. " 50

But though these arts of building edifices of Stone stone, with windows of glass, and other ornaments, were thus introduced by thefe two prelates in the latter part of the feventh century, they do not feem to have flourished much for ninth cenfeveral centuries. It appears from many incidental hints in our ancient historians that stone buildings were still very rare in the eighth and ninth ages, and that when any fuch buildings were erected, they were the objects of much admiration. When Alfred the Great, towards the end of the ninth century, formed the defign of rebuilding his ruined cities, churches, and monafteries, and of adorning his dominions with more magnificent structures, he was obliged to bring many of his artificers from foreign countries. " Of these (as we are told by his friend " and companion Afferius) he had an almost " innumerable multitude, collected from dif-" ferent nations; many of them the most ex-" cellent in their feveral arts "." Nor is it the least praise of this illustrious prince, that he was the greatest builder and the best architect of the age in which he flourished. His historian, who was an eye-witness of his works, speaks in the following strain of admiration of the number of his buildings: " What shall I say of the towns

buildings rare in England in the eighth and turies.

<sup>50</sup> W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific. p. 149.

Affer. de Ælfredi Rebus gestis, p. 20. alt

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" and cities which he repaired, and of others " which he built from the foundation, where "there had been none before 52?" Some of his buildings were also magnificent for that age, and of a new and fingular conftruction; particularly the church of his new monastery of Æthelingey; of which the reader may fee a plan in the work quoted below 53. This church, however, was built only of wood; and it feems probable that Alfred's buildings were in general more remarkable for their number and utility, than for their grandeur: for there is sufficient evidence, that long after his time, almost all the houses in England, and the far greatest part of the monasteries and churches, were very mean buildings, conftructed of wood, and covered with thatch. Edgar the Peaceable, who flourished after the middle of the tenth century, obferved, that at his accession to the throne, all the monasteries in England were in a ruinous condition, and confifted only of rotten boards 54. Though the art of making glass was introduced in the feventh century, yet it was afterwards fo much neglected, that no private houses had glass windows till after the conclusion of this period 55. In a word, feveral of our ancient historians agree, that the Anglo-Saxon nobility had no tafte for magnificent buildings, but fpent their

What that I lay of the towns

<sup>52</sup> Asser. de Ælfredi Rebus gestis, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> Vita Ælfredi Latine reddita, p. 131.

<sup>54</sup> W. Malmf. 1.2. p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson's Hift, Commerce, v. 1. p. 90.

great revenues in mean, low, and inconvenient houses 56. This seems to have been owing in a great measure to the unsettled state of their country, and the frequent destructive depredations of the Danes, who made it a conftant rule to burn all the houses, monasteries, and churches, whereever they came. From the few remains of Anglo-Saxon architecture which may still be feen in England, as well as from the direct testimony of venerable Bede, it plainly appears to have been a rude imitation of the ancient Roman manner, and very different from that which is commonly, though very improperly, called Gothic; of which fo many noble specimens adorn our country 57. The most admired of the Saxon churches seem to have been low and gloomy; their pillars plain and clumfy, their walls immoderately thick, their windows few and fmall, with femicircular arches at the top. 58

If architecture was fo imperfect in England in State of this period, we may conclude that it was not in a architecture in very flourishing state in the other parts of this Wales. island. This art appears to have been almost quite loft among the posterity of the ancient Britons, after they retired to the mountains of Wales. The chief palace of the kings of Wales, where the nobility and wife men affembled for making laws, was called the white palace, be-

<sup>56</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 3. J. Roffii, p. 106.

<sup>57</sup> Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 295.

<sup>38</sup> Archæologia by the Society of Antiquaries, London, p. 39. 140. ISI.

caufe the walls of it were woven with white wands, which had the bark peeled off 50. By the laws of Wales, whoever burnt or destroyed the king's hall or palace, was obliged to pay one pound and eighty pence, besides one hundred and twenty pence for each of the adjacent buildings, which were eight in number, viz. the dormitory, the kitchen, the chapel, the granary, the bake-house, the store-house, the stable, and the dog-house 60. From hence it appears, that a royal residence in Wales, with all its offices, when thefe laws were made, was valued at five pounds and eighty pence of the money of that age, equal in quantity of filver to fixteen pounds of our money, and in efficacy to one hundred and fixty. This is certainly a fufficient proof of the meanness of these buildings, which were only of wood. Even the caftles in Wales, in this period. that were built for the fecurity of the country, to stall appear to have been constructed of the same materials; for the laws required the king's vaffals to come to the building of these castles with no other tools but an axe 41. These observations, and many others of the same kind that might be made from the ancient laws of Wales, ferve to confirm the opinion of a very ingenious modern writer,—that there were few or no stone buildings in Wales before the reign of Edward I. of England. 62 . of W. Maint L & Likelin place.

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<sup>59</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 6. 60 Id. p. 163. 167. 61 Id. p. 167. 62 Observations on the Welsh Castles, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, in Archæologia. p. 278.

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The arts of building do not feem to have been State of much better understood by the Scots and Picts masonry in Scotland. than by the ancient Britons, in the former part of this period. When Finan, the fecond Bishop of Lindesfarne, built a church of wood in that island, A. D. 652. he is said to have done it more Scotorum, after the manner of his countrymen the Scots; and it hath been already observed, that Naitan King of the Picts was obliged to bring masons from Northumberland, when he resolved to build a church of stone in his dominions A. D. 710 °3. After this last period, it is probable that the Picts, and perhaps the Scots, began to learn and practife the art of masonry; because there are ftill some stone buildings of a very singular construction, and great antiquity, to be feen in Scotland. These buildings are all circular, though of two kinds, fo different from each other, that they feem to be the works of different ages and of different nations. The largest of these structures are in a very extraordinary taste of architecture; of which I have heard of no examples in any other part of the world. They are thus described by a modern antiquary, who viewed them with no little attention: " Having " arrived at the barrack of Glenelg, I was con-" ducted to the remains of those stupendous " fabrics, feated about two miles from thence, " in a valley called Glenbeg, in which four of "them anciently flood. Two of these are now

" fallen down; the fourth is almost entire. "The first I met with lies towards the north fide

of the valley, and is called Castle Chalomine, or " Malcom's Castle. It stands upon a considerable " eminence, and affords us a fine prospect of " the island of Sky, and a good part of the sea-" coaft. The foundation of this only appears; " as also of that other, on the east end of the " valley, called Caftle Chonel. About a quarter " of a mile further, upon the bank of a rivulet, " which passes through the middle of the glen, " flands the third fabric, called Caftle Tellve. "I found it composed of stones, without cement; " not laid in regular courfes, after the manner " of elegant buildings, but rudely and without "order: those toward the base were pretty " large, but ascending higher they were thin " and flat, some of them scarce exceeding the "thickness of an ordinary brick. I was fur-" prifed to find no windows on the outfide, nor "any manner of entrance into the fabric, except " a hole towards the west, at the base so very " low and narrow, that I was forced to creep in "upon hands and knees, and found that it " carried me down four or five steps below the " furface of the ground. When I was got within, "I was environed betwixt two walls, having a " cavity or void space, which let me round the " whole building. Opposite to the little entry, " on the outfide, was a pretty large door, in the " fecond or inner wall, which led me into the « area alterio e IO

" area or inner court. When I was there, I per-" ceived that one half of the building was fallen "down, and thereby had the opportunity of " feeing a complete fection thereof. The two " walls join together at the top, round about, " and have formed a large void space or area in "the middle. But to give a more complete " idea of these buildings, I shall describe the " fourth, called Castle Troddan, which is by far " the most entire of any in that country; and " from whence I had a very clear notion how " thefe fabrics were originally contrived. On "the outfide were no windows, nor were the " materials of this castle any wife different from " those of the other already described, only the entry on the outside was somewhat larger: " but this might be occasioned by the falling of " the stones from above. The area of this makes " a complete circle; and there are four doors in " the inner wall, which face the four cardinal " points of the compass. These doors are each " eight feet and a half high, and five feet wide, " and lead from the area into the cavity between " the two walls, which runs round the whole " building. The perpendicular height of this " fabric is exactly thirty-three feet; the thick-" ness of both walls, including the cavity be-" tween, no more than twelve feet; and the " cavity itself is hardly wide enough for two men " to walk abreaft; the external circumference is " 178 feet. The whole height of the fabric is divided into four parts or stories, separated « from Helrend

from each other by thin floorings of flat flones, " which knit the two walls together, and run " quite round the building; and there have " been winding flairs of the fame flat stones " afcending betwixt wall and wall, up to the " top. The undermost partition is somewhat " below the furface of the ground, and is the wideft; the others grow narrower by degrees, " till the walls close at the top. Over each door " are nine fquare windows, in a direct line above " each other, for the admission of light; and " between every row of windows are three others " in the uppermost story, rising above a cornice, " which projects out from the inner wall, and " runs round the fabric 64." From this description of these fingular edifices, it plainly appears, that they were defigned both for lodging and defence; and confidering the state of the times in which they were built, they were certainly very well contrived for answering both these purpofes.

Circular towers. The stone edifices of the other kind, which were probably erected in this period, and of which some few are still to be seen in Scotland, are not so large as the former, but more artificial. They are slender, lofty, circular towers, of cut stone laid in regular rows, between forty and sifty seet in external circumference, and from seventy to a hundred feet high, with one door some feet from the ground 65. They are exactly

D= 65 Id. p. 165.

<sup>64</sup> Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 166.

fimilar to the round tower of Ardmore, and feveral others, in Ireland; and therefore were probably built about the fame time, which was in the tenth century; and for the same purposes; which are believed by fome to have been for the confinement of penitents while they were performing penance. On this account these towers are always found in the neighbourhood of churches both in Scotland and Ireland; and are faid to have been used in this manner: "The " penitents were placed in the uppermost story " of the tower (which commonly confifted of " five or fix flories); where having made pro-" bation or done penance, fuch a limited time, " according to the heinousness of their crimes, "they then were permitted to descend to the " next floor; and fo on by degrees, until they " came to the door, which always faced the " entrance of the church, where they flood to " receive absolution from the clergy, and the " bleffings of the people "." A tedious process, to which few penitents in the present age would willingly fubmit. Other writers are of opinion, that the defign of these circular towers (of which one is still remaining at Abernethy and another at Brechin) was to be places from whence the people were called to public worship by the found of a horn or trumpet, before the introduction of bells. 67 es All thefe edifices were con

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<sup>66</sup> Archæologia, vol. 1. p. 307. 17 Id. vol. 2. p. 80-85.

It is quite improper to spend much time in investigating the state of the carpenters and cabinet-makers arts, and of other artificers who wrought in wood in this period; as few or no specimens of their workmanship are now remaining. In general, we may be certain, that these artificers were very numerous, as almost all edifices both public and private, as well as various kinds of furniture, arms, tools, &c. were made of wood; and amongst these there were, no doubt, some in each branch who excelled in their respective arts. The clearest positive evidence of this is still remaining; of which it will be fufficient to give one example: " With this " wood the nave of the church of Croiland was " built, and the tower conftructed of ftrong " and lofty beams, most exactly joined to-" gether before the death of Abbot Turkitull. . "After the death of that abbot, his fucceffor, " Egelric, built many beautiful edifices of the " fame materials. In particular, he erected an " infirmary for the monks, of a proper length " and breadth, with a chapel; - a bath, with " other necessary houses; -a hall, and two " large chambers, for the accommodation of " ftrangers; - a new brewhouse, and a new " bake-house; -very large granaries, and stables. "All these edifices were constructed of beams " of wood and boards, most exactly joined, and " most beautifully polished, by the admirable

" art of the carpenter, and covered with " lead." 68

As metals are more durable than wood, the Metallic flate of the metallics arts is a little better known. arts. The plumbers art must have been well underflood in this period, as all the churches, and other edifices that were built of stone, were covered with lead; and even many of those that were constructed of wood. Artificers who wrought in iron were highly regarded in those warlike times; because they fabricated swords, and other offensive arms, as well as defensive armour. Every military officer had his fmith, who conftantly attended his person, to keep his arm and armour in order 69. The chief smith was an officer of confiderable dignity in the courts of the Anglo-Saxon and Welfh kings; where he enjoyed many privileges, and his weregeld was much higher than that of any other artificer 70. In the Welsh court, the king's smith fat next the domestic chaplain, and was entitled to a draught of every kind of liquor that was brought into the hall. 72 and hold to the aids to

As all the clergy were taught fome mechanic Arts of art, and were obliged by the canons to exercise working it at their leifure hours, many of them wrought gold, and in metals of different kinds, in which they be- jewels. came the most expert and curious artists 72. The famous St. Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury,

<sup>68</sup> Ingulf. Hift. Croiland.

<sup>69</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 25. 74 Id. ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p.66.

<sup>72</sup> Johnson's Canons, vol. I. A.D. 960. c. 51. A.D. 994. c. 3.

who governed both church and state with the most absolute sway, was the best blacksmith, brazier, goldsmith, and engraver of his time. He had an admirable genius (fays his historian) " for various arts, and particularly excelled in " writing and engraving letters, and in making " any thing he pleafed, in gold, filver, brafs, " and iron "3." Many trinkets made by this illustrious mechanic were long preserved in the church as the most precious relics, and objects of the highest veneration. "O miserable man "that I am! (cries Osbern,) I confess that I " have feen fome of those works which he had " made, that I have touched them with my fin-" ful hands, have fet them before my eyes, be-" fprinkled them with my tears, and adored "them on my bended knees "." Among the various artifts collected by Alfred the Great, there were not a few who wrought in gold and filver, who, with the instructions of their royal mafter, performed feveral works in these precious metals of incomparable beauty 25. The truth of this affertion of the historian is abundantly confirmed by that most beautiful jewel, of exquifite workmanship, that was found at Ethelingey in Somerfetshire; where this great prince concealed himself in his diffress, and where he fometimes refided in his prosperity. This jewel was made by the command and direction of

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74 Id. p.96. V args.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 94.

<sup>75</sup> Affer. Vita Alfred. p. 17.

Alfred, (as appears from the inscription upon it in the Saxon language and letters, to this purpofe: -" Alfred commanded me to be made,") - and was certainly worn by that prince. It is a thin plate of gold enamelled, and most exquisitely engraved with various figures, of an oblong form, a little more than two inches long, and a little more than one inch broad; of which the reader may find long and minute descriptions in the works quoted below 70. There is the clearest and most authentic evidence, that gold and filver were wrought into plate, coronets, bracelets, and various other ornaments and utenfils, both before and after the age of Alfred the Great. The famous Bishop Wilfrid, who flourished about two centuries before Alfred, is faid to have incurred much envy by his magnificence, and particularly by his great quantities of filver plate ". Queen Elgiva, the wife of King Ethelred, prefented a chalice and patten of fine gold, weighing thirteen marks, about two pounds and a half, to the church of Canterbury; and his fecond wife, Queen Emma, gave many ornaments of gold and filver to the church of Winchester 78. But besides the gold and silver plate in the possesfion of the church, of which every convent and cathedral had a confiderable quantity, many private persons had various ornaments and trinkets

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Philosophical Transactions, No. 247. Hickesii Thesaur. t. 1. p. 12. Wotten's Conspectus, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> Eddii Vita Wilfridi, c. 24.

<sup>78</sup> Monasticon, vol. 1. p. 2. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 290.

of these precious metals, such as coronets, chains, bracelets, half circles for dreffing their hair upon, collars, cups, &c.; as appears from their testaments, which are still preferved 19. Even the arts of polishing and fetting precious stones were not quite unknown in England in this period: for Alfred the Great, having received a quantity of these from India (in the manner that shall be related in the next chapter), had them polished, and formed into jewels; fome of which were remaining in the cathedral of Shereburn when William of Malmsbury wrote his history of the bishops of that see 80. The arts of gilding wood and metals with gold and filver were also known and practifed. Stigand Bishop of Winchester is said to have made a very large crucifix, and two images, the one of the Virgin Mary, and the other of the Apostle John, and to have gilded them all, together with the beam on which they flood, with gold and filver, and fet them up in the cathedral of Winchester's. The English goldsmiths in this period were so famous for their excellence in their art, that the curious caskets, adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, in which the relics of the faints were kept, were made in England, and known by the name of Opera Anglica (English works)82. The art of making gold and filver thread for

<sup>79</sup> Hickesii Dissertatio Epistolaris, p. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> W. Malmf. de Geftis Pontificum Angl. 1.2.

<sup>82</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p.293. 82 Murator. Antiq. t. 5. p. 12.

weaving and embroidering was not unknown in this period, as will by and by appear. In one word, fome pieces of workmanship were executed in gold and filver, in those rude times, that would be admired in the present age; of which it will be fufficient to give one example: among the furniture of Charlemagne, there were four tables, three of filver, and one of gold, all of extraordinary magnitude and weight. One of the filver tables was fquare, and beautifully enchased with a plan of the city of Constantinople; another of them was round, and on it the city of Rome was reprefented in the fame manner; the third, which was much larger and heavier, and of more admirable workmanship than the other two, contained, within three circles, a reprefentation of the whole world, in figures most exquifitely minute and fine 83. How inestimable would the value of these tables be, if they were still remaining! Such of our readers as are defirous of knowing in what manner the artificers of those ancient times performed many of their most curious operations, in gilding and flaining metals, ivory, wood, parchment, &c. may find a very ample collection of their receipts in the work quoted below. 84

If we may depend upon the authority of their In Wales. Iaws, even the people of Wales, notwithstanding their poverty, and the low state of the arts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Egenhard. Vita Caroli Magni, fub fin.

Muratori Antiquitates Medii Ævi, t. 2. p. 366-387.

among them, were not unacquainted with gold and filver plate in this period. By one of these laws, an infult or injury offered to the King of Aberfraw was to be compensated in this manner: The guilty person, besides a certain number of cows, according to the extent of his estate, was to give to the king, whom he had affronted, a filver rod, as thick as his little finger, that would reach from the ground to his mouth when he fat in his chair; together with a gold cup, that would contain as much liquor as he could drink at once, with a cover as broad as his majefty's face; and both the cup and cover were to be of the thickness of a ploughman's thumb-nail, or the shell of a goose's egg 85. This law certainly made it very imprudent to affront his majesty of Aberfraw, especially if he happened to have a long breath and a broad face. But if the people of Wales had really fuch pieces of plate amongst them in those times, they were probably imported, and not manufactured by themselves.

Arts of clothing.

Though some of the arts employed about clothing are frequently carried much further than necessity requires, and were so in this period; yet it feems to be most proper, for preventing confusion, to consider them all in this place under the division of the necessary arts.

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edeality.

None of the nations who inhabited this island at the arrival of the Saxons, were ignorant of

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the most essential branches of the clothing-arts. arts to It has been made appear already, that the Bri-their oritons, Scots, and Picts, understood the arts of dreffing both wool and flax, spinning them into yarn, and weaving them into cloth of various kinds and colours 86. Nor have we the least reason to suspect, that the Saxons were unacquainted with any of these essential operations at their arrival in Britain, as there is not the least furmife in history, that they were more imperfeetly clothed than other nations. It will not therefore be necessary to trace any of these arts again to their origin, but only to take notice of fuch improvements as were made in them in the course of this period, and of such new inventions as were introduced.

We have no evidence that any of the British Art of emnations, at the beginning of this period, underflood the arts of weaving various figures of men. or other animals, or flowers, foliages, &c. into cloth, or of embroidering them upon it after it was woven; but there is the clearest proof, that these very elegant and ingenious arts were practifed in England before the end of the feventh century. In a book written by Aldhelm Bishop of Shereburn, about A. D. 680., in praise of virginity, he observes, that chastity alone did not form an amiable and perfect character, but required to be accompanied and adorned by many other virtues; and this observation he illustrates by the following simile, taken from the art of weaving; - " As it is not a web of one " uniform colour and texture, without any va-" riety of figures, that pleafeth the eye, and " appears beautiful; but one that is woven by " fluttles, filled with threads of purple, and " many other colours, flying from fide to fide, " and forming a variety of figures and images, " in different compartments, with admirable " art 87." These figures were sometimes embroidered upon the cloth, with threads of gold, filver, and filk, of purple and other colours, as the nature of the figures to be formed required; and to render them the more exact, they were first drawn, with colouring matter, by some skilful artist. In the life of St. Dunstan, we are told, that a certain religious lady, defigning to embroider a facerdotal veftment, earneftly intreated Dunstan (who was then a young man, and had an excellent tafte for works of that kind) to draw the figures, which she afterwards formed with threads of gold s8. The truth is, that those fine flowered and embroidered works, fo much fuperior in art and beauty to what could have been expected in those rude ages, were commonly executed by ladies of the highest rank and greatest piety, and were designed for ornaments to the churches, and vestments for the clergy, when they performed the offices of re-

<sup>87</sup> Aldhelm de Virginitate, in Bibliotheca Patrum, t. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 94.

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ligion. We often read in the monkish historians of those times, of queens and princesses making prefents of fuch precious and painted vestments (as they called them) to the church 89. The four princeffes, daughters of King Edward the Elder, and fifters of King Athelftan, are highly celebrated by historians for their assiduity and skill in spinning, weaving, and needlework; which was fo far from spoiling the fortunes of those royal spinsters, that it procured them the addresses of the greatest princes then in Europe 90. A work of this kind, supposed to have been executed about the end of this period, by Matilda, wife of William Duke of Normandy, afterwards King of England, and the ladies of her court, is still preserved in the cathedral of Bayeux, and is an illustrious proof both of their skill and industry. This curious monument of antiquity is a piece or web of linen, only about nineteen inches in breadth, but no less than fixty-seven yards in length; on which is embroidered the history of the conquest of England by William Duke of Normandy: beginning with the embaffy of Harold to the Norman court, A. D. 1065. and ending with his death at the battle of Hastings, A. D. 1066.91 The many important transactions of these two bufy years are represented in the clearest and

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<sup>29</sup> Annales Eccles. Winton. in Angl. Sacra, t. I. p. 290.

<sup>9</sup> W. Malmf. 1.2. p.26.

<sup>91</sup> Memoires de Literature, tom.g. 12.

most regular order in this piece of needle-work; which contains many hundred figures of men, horses, beasts, birds, trees, houses, castles, churches, arms, &c. &c., all executed in their due proportions and proper colours, with inscriptions over them, to throw light upon the history of Though Queen Matilda directed this work, yet the greatest part of it was probably performed by English women: for we are told by a contemporary writer, that the Anglo-Saxon ladies were so famous for their skill in needlework, and embroidering with gold, that those elegant manufactures were called Anglicum opus (English work).

Art of dyeing scarlet. It hath been already proved, that the people of this ifland were not unacquainted with the arts of dyeing wool, yarn, and cloth, feveral different colours, in the former period; yet it feems probable, that thefe arts received confiderable improvements in the period we are now delineating <sup>94</sup>. In particular, the art of dyeing the fearlet colour, by the help of a finall infect of the kermes or cochineal kind, appears to have been diffeovered about A. D. 1000. <sup>95</sup>

The furrier's art. The furrier's art, or the art of drefling the fkins of animals, without taking off the hair or wool, was much improved in this period; be-

<sup>92</sup> Memoires de Literature, tom.9.12. Montfauçon Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise. t. 1. p. 371, &c.

<sup>93</sup> Gul. Pictavens. p. 211. 9+ See vol. 2. p. 128. W

<sup>95</sup> Murat. Antiquitat. t.2. p.415.

cause furs of all kinds were much worn, and highly valued for their warmth and beauty. 96

Though filk was worn by perfons of high rank Art of and great wealth, and also used for altar-cloths, making filk. &c.; yet as we have no evidence that it was manufactured in England in this period, this is not the proper place to fpeak of it. 97

Befides the fine needle-works and embroideries Arts of above described, which were executed chiefly by making the ladies, various kinds of woollen cloths were cloths. fabricated by the professed artificers of Britain in this period, for the use of all the different ranks in fociety. We are even told by a writer who flourished in those times, that the English makers of cloth very much excelled in their feveral arts 98. This feems to be confirmed by the price of wool, which was higher than it is at present, in proportion to the prices of other commodities. For the fleece, by fome of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was valued at two-fifths of the price of the whole sheep 99. It must, however, be confessed, that it is quite impossible, at this distance of time, and with the imperfect lights afforded us by our ancient writers, to give a particular account of the texture and properties of all the different kinds of cloth that were fabricated in England in this remote period.

The art of war must continue to be ranked Art of war. among the necessary arts, until all nations be-

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<sup>96</sup> Murat. Antiquitat. t. 2. p. 409.

<sup>97</sup> See chap. 7.

<sup>98</sup> Gul. Pictavens. p. 211. 99 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 23.

come fo wife and equitable as to content themfelves with their own territories and possessions, without invading those of others. This was very far from being the case in Britain in the period we are now considering, which was almost one continued series of invasions, wars, and plunderings, from the beginning to the end. In such unhappy circumstances, the study and practice of the arts of war became necessary to the preservation of the several British nations, and on that account merit a little of our attention.

Among the Britons, Scots, and Picts.

chapter

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It is fufficient to refer the reader to what hath been already faid concerning the manner of forming and commanding the armies of the ancient Britons, Scots, and Picts; because no changes feem to have been made by them in these particulars in the present period 100. Their arms and way of fighting were also much the fame, except that war-chariots were wholly laid afide, and defensive armour came more into use among their princes and great men, in imitation of other nations, and particularly of the Anglo-Saxons. By the laws of Wales, all the fighting men were obliged to take the field, as often as they were called upon by the king, to defend their country when it was invaded; but they were not under any legal obligation to attend their prince in a foreign expedition above once in the year, nor to continue in it above fix

weeks 101. They were also bound to affift, as often as they were called upon, in building, repairing, and defending the royal caftles 102. But these castles, as hath been already observed, were very flight, and conftructed only of wood.

The founders of the feveral Anglo-Saxon Among kingdoms in this island were a kind of foldiers the Angloof fortune, followed by armies of bold intrepid youths, whose arms were their only riches, and war their only trade and chief delight. To this martial fpirit, which they derived from their ancestors the ancient Germans, they owed all their fuccess in Britain; and they procured all their fettlements by their fwords, to which they had no other right. The same martial spirit and military arts were necessary to preserve their acquisitions, both from the ancient possessors, and from other adventurers like themselves, particularly the Danes. These circumstances made the fludy and practice of the arts of war of the greatest importance to the Anglo-Saxons, and render their military arrangements objects of curiofity to their posterity.

All the freemen and proprietors of land among All the the Anglo-Saxons, except the ministers of reli- freemen gion, were trained to the use of arms, and al- Angloways ready to take the field. To this they were Saxons not only led by their ancient customs and war-riors. like dispositions, but compelled by the necessity of their circumftances, and the obligation of

their laws. For every foldier in their victorious armies, when he received his proportion of the conquered country as the reward of his toils and valour, became bound to three things (commonly called the trinoda necessitas), which were esteemed indispensably necessary to the public fafety and common good 103. The first and most important of these three services, to which all proprietors of land, and even all freemen of any confiderable property, were subjected, was called in the Saxon language furthfare, or outgoing; which fignified their taking the field with all necessary arms, whenever an army was to be formed for the defence of their country. This they were obliged to do under the fevere penalty of forfeiting their lands, if they had any, and paying a heavy fine if they had no lands 104. The fecond of these fervices, which all freemen and proprietors of land were obliged to perform, was also of a military nature, and confifted in building, repairing, and defending the royal castles 105. To enable them to perform these fervices, all freemen and landholders were obliged to be constantly possessed of such arms as were necessary and suitable to their rank, which they were neither to fell, nor lend, nor pledge, nor alienate from their heirs 106. That they might be expert in the use of these arms when

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Reliquiæ Spelman. p. 19.

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 23. Spelman Concil. Britan. p. 520.

<sup>105</sup> Id. ibid. 106 Leges Edwardi Regis, apud Wilkins, p.205.

they were called out to actual fervice, the freemen of each tithing, hundred, and county were appointed to meet at certain stated times and places for the exercise of arms; and there was to be one general review of all the arms and armed men in all the counties of England upon one day in the month of May, that there might be no possibility of imposing upon the public by lending arms to each other 197. In a word, the freemen among the Anglo-Saxons, like their ancestors the ancient Germans, came to their hundred and county courts, and other public meetings, in arms; for which reason these meetings were commonly called weapon-tacks, or the touch of arms; because every one touched the fpear of the chief magistrate, who was present with his spear, in token of his submission to his authority, and readiness to fight under his command 108. So much were they accustomed to the use of arms, that a spear in his hand was an effential part of the dress of an Anglo-Saxon thane or gentleman, by which he was diftinguished, and without which he never flirred abroad. This is the reason that we meet with so many laws to prevent their doing mischief by wearing their fpears in a careless manner. 109

The ministers of religion, both among the Clergy ex-Pagan and Christian Saxons, were exempted from all military fervices, and forbidden the use obligation

empted from the of bearing arms.

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Leges Edwardi Regis, apud Wilkins. p. 205.

<sup>108</sup> Id. p. 203. Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.42.

of arms. The Pagan Northumbrians imagined their high priest Coifi was become mad, when they beheld him riding on a horse, with a spear in his hand, like a fecular thane; " because " they knew that it was not lawful for a priest "to bear arms, or ride upon a horse "." The Christian clergy, after the conversion of the Saxons, enjoyed the same exemption from military fervices, and were laid under the same prohibition of bearing arms, that they might not be diverted from a conftant attention to the duties of their facred function ". But the lands that were granted to the church by kings and others, especially in the former part of this period, were fubjected to the fame military fervices with others, which the clergy performed by their ceorls or free tenants. 112

Slaves not permitted to bear arms.

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As the bearing of arms was esteemed the most honourable of all employments by the Anglo-Saxons, and all the other nations of Europe in this period, their numerous slaves were excluded from that honour, and from all military services, except in cases of the greatest national distress and danger 113. But when a slave was made free, a spear was put into his hand as one mark of his freedom, and he was thenceforward permitted to bear arms, and subjected to military services. 114

<sup>110</sup> Bedæ Hift. 1.2. c.13.

<sup>111</sup> Spelman. Concil. p. 238.

<sup>212</sup> Reliquiæ Spelman. p. 19.

<sup>313</sup> Murator. Antiq. 1.2. p.445.

<sup>114</sup> Id. ibid.

From the above account of the military forces Reafon of of the feveral Anglo-Saxon states, it plainly ap- the nupears that they confifted of all the freemen of armies those states, who were of a proper age for bearing among the arms, the clergy alone excepted. This is, no Saxons. doubt, the reason that we hear of such numerous armies raifed even by the smallest nations of the heptarchy: for when a war broke out, the whole nation was up in arms, except fuch as were not capable, or had no right to bear them. After the establishment of the English monarchy, these martial regulations feem to have been relaxed, and the military forces of the nation gradually diminished, there has that add no scow wall

The civil and military government of the Military Anglo-Saxons were perfectly fimilar, and exe-governcuted by the fame persons. The king was commander in chief of the whole army; an office which he commonly executed in person, but fometimes by a fubflitute, who was called the cynings hold, or heretoga, i. e. leader of the army 145. The alderman, or heretoga of each county, commanded the troops of the county, which formed a complete battalion; and were fubdivided into trithings, commanded by the trithingmen; and these into hundreds, commanded by the hundredaries; and these again into tens, commanded by the decennaries, who were commonly called fithcundem or conductors, when they acted in their military capacity. 116

Troops of the Anglo-Saxons.

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The Anglo-Saxon troops were of two kinds, and armies infantry and cavalry. The infantry were composed of the ceorls, or lowest rank of freemen; and the cavalry of the thanes, or freemen of greater property, who could afford to purchase and maintain their horses. The infantry were not all furnished with the same offensive weapons, fome being provided with spears, others with axes, others with bows and arrows, and not a few with clubs, befides fwords, that were common to them all. Few of the infantry had any other defensive armour than small round shields, with sharp spikes in their centres, which they wore on the left arm, and with which they wounded their enemies, as well as defended themselves. The cavalry were more uniformly armed, with long spears, which they carried in their right hands, and fwords, which hung by a belt at their left fides. They were also much better provided with defensive armour; having, besides their large oval shields, which they wore on their left arms, helmets on their heads, and cuiraffes, or coats of mail, on their bodies. The helmets of the Anglo-Saxons were of a conical fhape, without vizors, or any other protection to the face, than a piece of iron which reached from the front of the helmet to the point of the nofe. The fwords both of the infantry and cavalry, were very long and broad; blunt at the point, and defigned only for cutting. The faddles of their horses were of a very simple construction, all of them without cruppers, and many

many of them without stirrups. The above defcription of the arms of the English in this remote period of their history, is chiefly taken from the representation of their army at the battle of Haftings, in the famous tapeftry of Bayeux 117. All the different bodies of troops of which an Anglo-Saxon army was composed had flandards, very much refembling those of the cavalry in modern Europe 118. Some of the most ancient of our Anglo-Saxon kings were so fond of those military standards, that they had them carried before them when they travelled through their territories, even in times of peace. 119, a notified for sorie wind

We have good reason to believe, that the Anglo-Anglo-Saxon youth were carefully trained to the dexterous use of their arms, and management of trained to their horses, as well as instructed in the way of the use of marching in regular order, and performing the necessary evolutions at their weapontacks and military reviews. "All the northern nations " (fays Olaus Magnus) are exceedingly expert and dexterous in handling their arms when

" they come to an engagement; because their

" youth are frequently exercised in mock fights, with fwords, fpears, bows, and arrows, and

other arms 120. When the troops are affem-

" bled for a military expedition, they are first

arms, &c.

engaging.

<sup>117</sup> See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, t. 12.

<sup>119</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1. 2. C. 16.

<sup>120</sup> Historia Olai Magni, 1.7. c.6. p.224.

" divided into their feveral diftinct bodies, with " their proper standards, under their respective " leaders, who explain to them the causes of " the war; reprefent, in the strongest colours, " the cruelty and injustice of their enemies, and " the necessity of their fighting boldly for the " honour of their country; and promise them " their full share of all the booty that shall be " taken; after which they march with great " alacrity and good order 121." The Anglo-Saxon armies were generally attended in their marches by a great number of carts or waggons loaded with arms and provisions, and sometimes with their wives and children; and with these waggons they furrounded their camps in the night, which ferved as a fortification. 122

Manner of drawing up their armies and of engaging.

When they came to action, which was generally as foon as they could find their enemies, they drew up their troops in various ways, according to the nature of the ground, the pofture of the adverse army, or the particular views of their commanders; though they commonly formed their spearmen into a figure called a fow's-head or hollow wedge, presenting the sharpest point of it to the enemy 123. This figure, which was much used by the Franks, Saxons, and all the other northern nations, is thus described by an ancient writer: "They form their troops into "the figure of a wedge, or of the Greek letter

<sup>121</sup> Historia Olai Magni, l. 7. c. 6. p. 224.

<sup>122</sup> Cluver. Antiq. L. c. 50. p.319.

<sup>123</sup> Agathias, 1.2.

" A; the point of which towards the enemy is "very fharp, and the fides gradually diverge, by which it becomes broadest at the rear. "The ranks on all the three fides are very com-" pact; and the men, standing with their faces " outwards, and their backs towards the empty " space in the middle, form a kind of rampart " with their shields 124." When an army was composed of feveral distinct battalions, or the troops of feveral different counties, under their respective aldermen and inferior officers, they often formed as many of these hollow wedges as there were battalions, at proper intervals 125. This was certainly a very prudent regulation; for each of these bodies being composed of the inhabitants of the fame county, fought bravely for the honour of their county, and in defence of their friends and neighbours. The cavalry of each county formed one fquadron, and were commonly drawn up in the front of the infantry. The waggons of the army, with the arms, provisions, women, children, fick, and wounded, were placed in a line in the rear, with proper guards, and made a kind of rampart for its defence. While thefe dispositions were making, there were frequently fingle combats between the boldest champions of each army, or skirmishes between flying parties; in which feats of the greatest bravery and dexterity were exhibited. When both armies were ready for action, the

<sup>124</sup> Cluver. Antiq. German. l.1. c. 50.

commanders in chief, and other officers, made fhort animating speeches; and the fignal of battle being given by the found of trumpets, horns, &c., the troops on both fides advanced with martial fongs, loud flouts, and clashing of arms, which made a most terrible and tremendous noise 126. The first shock between the cavalry of the two contending armies was ordinarily very furious; after which the archers, and then those armed with spears, swords, battle-axes, clubs, &c. came to action; the battle raged, and blood ftreamed from ten thousand wounds. In this way of fighting, much depended on bodily strength and intrepidity; and when two armies were nearly equal in numbers and valour, battles were very long and very bloody. As the rage of the combatants was much inflamed by the length and violence of the struggle, the victors made a dreadful havock among the fugitives, and spared few that they could destroy: nor was it uncommon, especially among the Danes, to put their prisoners to death in cold blood, and with the most cruel tortures 127. It would be eafy to illustrate and confirm every particular in the above description, by examples taken from our history in this period; but this would be as tedious as it is unnecessary.

Great number of battles

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The number of battles that were fought in this period in England, to fay nothing of skir-

<sup>126</sup> Cluver. Antiq. German. l. 1. c.50. p. 324, &c.

<sup>137</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 73. 80, &c.

mishes, is almost incredible; and therefore we fought in may reasonably suppose, that this pernicious art this peof shedding human blood was brought to greater perfection than other arts that were more useful and beneficent. We learn from the best authority, that King Ethered and his brother Alfred, fought no fewer than nine pitched battles, befides many skirmishes, against the Danes in one year (871.) 128. The truth is, that war not only raged almost without interruption, in those unhappy times, but also appeared in its most horrid aspect, and was productive of the most deplorable calamities, especially to the vanquished. For victorious armies too often did not content themselves with the destruction of those who had opposed them in the field, but wreaked their vengeance also on defenceless flaves, women, and children.

The observations which have been already Arts of made on the civil, may be applied to the mili- fortifying tary architecture of the Anglo-Saxons. They places. were both very imperfect; and for that reason it will not be necessary to spend much time in delineating their methods of fortifying, defending, and attacking ftrong places. The Saxons, in the course of their long wars against the Britons, destroyed many of the fortifications that had been erected by the Romans; and after their fettlement in Britain, they neglected to repair those that remained, or to build any of their

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own. By this means, this country became almost quite open and defenceless; which greatly facilitated the incursions of the Danes, who met with little obstruction from fortified places. Alfred the Great feems to have been the first of the Anglo-Saxon kings who was fenfible of this defect, and endeavoured to provide a remedy. This admirable prince, after he had reduced the Danes, and reftored the tranquillity of his country, fpent much of his time and revenues in repairing the ruined walls of London and other cities, and in building forts in the most convenient places, for the protection of his subjects. "What shall I say (cries his historian) of the cities, which he repaired, and of the royal of forts and caftles which he built of stone and " wood, with admirable art; in doing which he " met with much opposition and trouble from " the indolence of his people, who could not " be purfuaded to fubmit to any labour for the " common fafety? How often, and how ear-" neftly, did he befeech, intreat, and at length " command and threaten, his bishops, alderee men, and nobles, to imitate his example, and " build caftles for the defence of themselves, " their families, and friends? But, alas! fuch " was their invincible floth and inactivity, that " all his perfuafions, commands, and threats, had " little influence upon them; and they either " did not build at all, or did not begin to " build till it was too late, and their enemies came upon them before their works were " finished. 13

"finished. It is true, indeed, when they be-" held their parents, wives, children, friends, " and fervants, killed or taken prisoners, and " their goods and furniture destroyed, they be-" wailed their own folly, and applauded the " prudence of their fovereign, which they had " before reproached 129." His own daughter Elfleda, governess of Mercia, seems to have been the only person in the kingdom who properly complied with the commands, and imitated the example of her illustrious father. For that heroic princess, who inherited more of the wifdom and spirit of Alfred than any of his children, not only fought many battles against the Danes, but also built many castles to check their incursions. In Henry of Huntingdon, we have the names of no fewer than eight caftles that were built by Elfleda in the short space of three years 130. From this time, the building, repairing, and defending caftles, became an object of public attention, and one of the three fervices to which all the lands of England were fubjected. When we reflect on the low state of the arts, and particularly of architecture, among the Anglo-Saxons, we cannot suppose that their caftles were either very ftrong or very beautiful. They generally confifted of two parts, a bass-court, and a keep or dungeon. The basscourt was a piece of ground, fometimes about

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<sup>129</sup> Affer. de Rebus gestis Alfredi, p. 17, 18.

<sup>130</sup> Hen. Hunt. Hist. p.204.

an acre in extent, furrounded with a high and thick stone wall, with a garreted parapet on the top; from whence the garrifon discharged their weapons on the affailants. This wall had also many fmall windows, or rather flits, in it, very narrow in proportion to their height, through which they shot their arrows. The lodgings for the officers and foldiers were built in the area, and along the infide of the wall. At one end of the bass-court was a round mount, sometimes artificial, and fometimes natural, on which the keep or dungeon flood, which was a circular ftone building, with thick and high walls. From the top of this building, which was flat, the garrison had an extensive prospect of the surrounding country, that they might discover the approaches of their enemies; and from thence also the chief defence was made. The body of the keep, which fometimes confifted of feveral ftories, contained the lodgings of the commander of the caftle; and in the bottom was the prison, under ground, and without light; from whence the whole building was often called the dungeon. Such was the general plan of the Anglo-Saxon castles; though the different tastes of their builders, fituations of the ground, and other circumftances, fometimes occasioned considerable deviations from this plan 131. The veftiges of Danish castles, or rather camps, are still visible in many parts of Britain, of a circular form,

See Dr. Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, 1.4. c.9.

furrounded with ditches and ramparts; but do not merit a more particular description in a general history. 132

The arts of fortifying and attacking towns and Arts of castles commonly improve or decay together, and attacking bear a due proportion to each other; and there-places, fore, though the Anglo-Saxon caftles above defcribed must appear to us exceedingly weak and artless, they afforded no less advantage and fecurity to their defenders, than the most regular fortifications do to theirs in the present age; because the modes of attacking them were feeble and artless in the same degree. For the most part, they were attempted to be taken by a fudden bold affault; by wounding and killing their defenders with stones, arrows, darts, and spears, by scaling their walls, and burfting open their gates, or fetting them on fire. These are the methods which we see practifed in the attack of a castle, in the famous tapestry of Bayeux 133. When the defenders of a town or caftle were disposed to furrender, the commander, putting the keys of it on the point of his fpear, reached them over the wall; and from thence they were taken by the general of the belieging army 134. If the affailants were repulfed, they feldom returned to the charge, or perfifted in their enterprife; for we meet with very few fleges of any length in the Anglo-Saxon hiftory. Alfred the Great feems

<sup>132</sup> See Dr. Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, 1.4. c.8.

Memoires de Literature, t. 12. p. 400.

to have been the only person who had any idea of a blockade, or confining a garrifon within their walls, cutting off their fupplies, and obliging them to furrender for want of provisions 135. A great variety of military engines were invented in the middle ages, for battering the walls of towns and caftles, and for throwing stones of a prodigious weight, which were the artillery of those times; but we have not fufficient evidence, that those engines were used in Britain in this period; and therefore it is not proper to introduce the account of them in this place 136. The truth is. that the arts of fortifying, defending, and befieging places of strength, were very much improved by the Normans; which will render this part of the military art more worthy of a minute investigation in the fixth volume of this work.

General observation on the state of the necesfary arts. Such feems to have been the state of the necessiary arts in this island, and particularly among the Anglo-Saxons, in this period. The fondest admirers of antiquity will not deny, that all these arts were very imperfect, in comparison of what they had been in provincial Britain in the Roman times, and of what they are at present.

The fine arts.

It is now proper to take a short view of the state of the sine or pleasing arts of sculpture, painting, poetry, and music.

Sculpture among the Pagan Saxons.

If the sculptor's and statuary's art doth not owe its origin, it certainly owes its greatest improvements, to idolatry. Nations who worship

images naturally encourage those amongst them who have any tafte or genius for the art of making them; and those artists as naturally exert all their skill in making the objects of worship in as perfect a manner as possible. As the Anglo-Saxons, at their fettlement in this island, were idolaters, they had probably fome amongst them who had the art of carving in wood, or cutting in stone the images of their gods, Woden, Thor, Frea, &c., though in a rude and clumfy ftyle. That they had idols or flatues of their imaginary deities in their temples, we have the clearest evidence in the letter written by Pope Boniface to Edwin King of Northumberland, A.D. 625. These idols are spoken of at great length, and he is exhorted to destroy them 137. When Coifi, the chief priest of the Northumbrian Saxons, was converted to Christianity, A.D. 627., he overturned the altars, and broke down the statues of their gods, in the great temple at Godmundham near York. The shapes of the statues of the Anglo-Saxon deities, with their various emblems, are still preferved in feveral authors. 138

When the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity, in the course of the fixth and seventh centuries, their idols were destroyed, and the art of making them not only neglected as useless, but abhorred as impious. But that art did not long continue in a state of neglect and detesta-

Among the Anglo-Saxons after their conversion to Christianity.

<sup>137</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. 1.2. c.10.

<sup>138</sup> Ailet Sammes Britan. Antiq. p. 446. Verstegan's Restitution, &c.

tion. For the images of the faints having been introduced into many of the Christian churches on the continent, it was not long before they found their way into some of the churches in this island. At first these images were imported from Rome, probably because there were no artists in Britain who could make them; but by degrees, as the demand for them increased, the art of making them was revived 139. As very few specimens of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture are now remaining, we cannot form an exact judgment of their taste and manner. In general, we may conclude, that their works, like those of their cotemporary artists of France and Italy, were aukward, stiff, and flat 140. For when the art of masonry was so imperfect as it hath been reprefented, it is not to be imagined, that the art of fculpture had attained to any great degree of perfection. Those who have an opportunity of viewing the figures in baffo-relievo, on the baptismal font at Bridekirk in Cumberland, or those on the pillar in the church-yard of Buecastle, in the same county, or those of the obelisk in the church of Ruthwel in Annandale, which were all cut in this period by the Dano-Saxon inhabitants of those parts, will probably be of this opinion. The date of stated norther melan

Paintings imported.

.corps:

The painters, as well as fculptors of the ages we are now confidering, were chiefly employed

<sup>139</sup> Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuthen. p. 295. 297.

<sup>140</sup> See Montfauçon Monumens, t.r. Murator. t.2. dissertat.24.

Elia ?

in working for the church, by drawing pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other faints. This practice of adorning churches with pictures, begun in the East, was early introduced at Rome, and from thence fpread into all the other countries of Europe where Christianity was established 4. The first pictures that were used for the ornament of the Anglo-Saxon churches in this island were brought from Rome. Benedict Biscop, the founder of the monastery of Weremouth, as we are told by venerable Bede, imported great numbers of thefe pictures from Rome, for the use of the church of his monastery. "In his fourth voyage, A.D. " 678., he brought from Rome many pictures of "the faints for the ornament of the church of "St. Peter, which he had built, viz.—a picture " of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, -" and the pictures of the twelve apostles, which " he hung up in the body of the church on a " partition of wood from the fouth to the north " wall; - pictures of the gospel-history, with " which he decorated the fouth wall; -and pic-" tures of the visions of St. John in the Apo-" calypfe, with which he adorned the north wall; -that all the people who entered this church, "though ignorant of letters, might contemplate " the amiable aspect of Christ and his faints in " these pictures, wherever they turned their 66 eyes 142." Benedict having built another mo-

Du Pin. Hist. Eccles. cent.4. in Epiphan.
Hist. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 295.

naftery at Iarrow, and dedicated the church of it to St. Paul, made another journey to Rome, to procure ornaments for his new church and monastery, A. D. 685. "Benedict having con-66 stituted Esterwin abbot of his monastery of St. "Peter at Weremouth, and Ceolfrid abbot of " his monastery of St. Paul at Iarrow, made a " fifth journey to Rome; from whence he re-" turned with a great treasure of facred things, " as ufual; particularly a great number of reli-" gious books and pictures: for at this time he brought pictures of the whole gospel-history, with which he covered the walls of the chapel of the Bleffed Virgin, which he had built in " his larger monaftery at Weremouth. For the ornament of the church of St. Paul, in his comonaftery of Iarrow, he brought pictures of " the concord of the Old and New Testaments, executed with wonderful art and wifdom. " For example, the picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be facrificed, and " the picture of Christ carrying the cross on which he was to be crucified, were placed mext to each other; and in like manner, the " ferpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness, " and the Son of Man lifted up on the crofs 143." From the above account, given by one who fpent his whole life in the monasteries of Weremouth and Iarrow, and daily faw the pictures which he describes, it plainly appears, that these

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two churches, in the north of England, in the feventh century, were adorned not only with many fingle portraits, but also with a confiderable collection of historical paintings; and if we were as well informed of the state of some other churches, we should perhaps find, that they were no worse provided in these ornaments.

As the veneration and demand for the pictures Paintings of the faints increased, the inconveniency of executed in Engbringing them all from foreign countries was land. fenfibly felt; and therefore fuch of the English, particularly of the clergy, as had a tafte for painting, applied to that art, in order to furnish their own churches with these admired ornaments. The famous St. Dunstan, who feems to have been an univerfal genius, was esteemed an excellent painter by his cotemporaries, and employed his pencil only on religious fubjects 144. A picture of Christ, drawn by this sainted artist, with his own picture proftrate at its feet, and feveral inscriptions in his own hand-writing, are still preferved in the Bodleian library 145. So necessary were the pictures of the faints believed to be, that no church could be confecrated without fome relics, and the picture of the faint to which it was dedicated. At the first introduction of these pictures into the Anglo-Saxon churches, it was pretended, that they were intended only to be helps to devotion, and a kind of books for the instruction of those who could not read the

Scriptures; and it was with these views that venerable Bede contended for their lawfulness and expediency 146. But the veneration of the people for these pictures did not long stop here, but gradually increased to the most gross and impious idolatry; which occasioned a prodigious demand for these objects of devotion, and no doubt brought the art of painting to greater perfection in this period than many of the other arts. Portraits of other persons besides canonized faints, particularly of the dignified clergy, appear to have been very numerous. "Styward (fays William of Malmfbury) was appointed abbot " of Glastonbury, A. D. 981. The pictures of "this abbot are a fufficient proof that his " manners were very fuitable to his name. For " in all these pictures he is represented with a " whip or rod for discipline in his hand 147," Even history-painting, representing the principal actions of the lives of great princes and generals, do not feem to have been very uncommon in England in this period. Edelfleda, widow of the famous Brithnod Duke of Northumberland, in the tenth century, presented to the church of Ely, " a curtain, which had the history of the " great actions of her deceased lord painted " upon it, to preferve the memory of his great " valour and other virtues." 148

<sup>146</sup> Bedæ Opera, t. 8. de Templo Salomonis, c. 19.

<sup>247</sup> W. Malmf. Antiq. Glaston. apud Gale, t. r. p. 317.

<sup>148</sup> Hift. Elien. 1.2. c.7.

The arts of colouring and painting glass were Painting probably known and practifed in England in the on glass. ages we are now confidering. If we could be certain that the figures of Alfred the Great, and of his grandfon Athelstan, in the window of the library of All-Souls college at Oxford, had been brought from Beverley, where they had been painted not long after the age in which these princes flourished, we should have an opportunity of judging of the state of that curious art in this period 149. In that large collection of receipts for performing various works of art, in the eighth century, preferved in the work quoted below 150, there are directions for staining glass feveral different colours, in order to form figures and pictures of Mofaic work.

But of all the pleafing arts, poetry was the Art of most admired and cultivated by all the nations of poetry Britain, in the ages we are now delineating. In much cultivated in the fifth chapter of the first volume of this work, this period. we have attempted to account for that ftrong propenfity to the fublime and ardent strains of poetry which hath appeared in all nations, in the most early period of their history, when they were emerging from the favage flate 151. Whatever becomes of that account, the fact is undeniable; and is confirmed by the ancient history of all those nations of Germany and Scandinavia, from whom the Anglo-Saxon and Dano-Saxon

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<sup>449</sup> Vita Ælfredi a Spelman. tab. 2.

<sup>250</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 370.

inhabitants of Britain derived their origin, as well as by that of the Celtic tribes, (who possessed the warmer regious of Europe,) from whom the ancient Britons were descended. This poetic fire was not extinguished by the chilling blafts, and almost eternal frosts of the north; but burnt with as intense a flame under the arctic circle as under the equator. The truth is, that the mountains of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and even Iceland, were the favourite feats of the Muses in this period; and from fome of those countries they accompanied their votaries into this island. " All the ancient in-" habitants of the north (fays an excellent an-"tiquary) composed, in rhymes and verses, " accounts of all things that deferved to be " remembered, either at home or abroad, that "they might be more eafily instilled into the " minds of men, might make the deeper im-" pressions on their memories, and be more " effectually handed down to posterity 152." Every bold adventurer, when he fet out on any piratical or military expedition, if he was not a great poet himself, which was frequently the case, never neglected to carry with him the best poets he could procure, to behold and celebrate his martial deeds 153. We may be certain, therefore, that all the leaders of the feveral armies of Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Danes, who formed fettlements, and erected kingdoms, in this island,

<sup>152</sup> Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 176.

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brought their poets with them, to fing their exploits and victories. The most ancient of those historical and military fongs have been long fince loft; but we have good reason to believe, that it is to them we owe many particulars in the most ancient part of our history. Some of our historians honestly confess, that they had no other authority for what they related but those ancient poems; and one of those fongs, on the great victory which Athelstan obtained over the Scots and Danes A. D. 938. is inferted verbatim in the Saxon chronicle, and literally translated by Henry of Huntingdon 154. Another of those ancient poems, on the death of King Edgar, and the fuccession of his son Edward, A. D. 975., is inferted in the fame chronicle. 155

Never were poetry and poets fo much admired Poetry and honoured as in the present period. The and poets greatest princes were no less ambitious of the honoured laurel than of the royal crown. Alfred the in this Great was the prince of poets, as well as the best of kings, and employed his poetic talents to enlighten the minds and civilize the manners of his subjects 156. Aldhelm, who was a prince of the royal family of Wessex, and Bishop of Shereburn, was also the best poet of his age; and his poems were the delight and admiration of the English several centuries after his death 157. Ca-

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<sup>154</sup> Wil. Malmf. p. 3. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Hen. Hunt. p. 204.

<sup>155</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 122. 156 Vita Ælfredi, p. 92.

<sup>157</sup> Anglia Sacra, t.2. p.4.

nute the Great was also a famous poet; and the first stanza of a song composed by him may be feen in the work quoted below 158. Poets were the chosen friends and favourites of the greatest kings; they feated them at their tables, advanced them to honours, loaded them with riches, and were fo much delighted with their fweet and lofty strains, that they could deny them nothing. "We the bards of Britain, whom our prince " entertaineth on the 1st of January, shall every " one of us, in our rank and flation, enjoy mirth and jollity, and receive gold and filver for our " reward. — Happy was the mother who bore thee, who art wife and noble, and freely dif-" tributest rich suits of garments, thy gold and " filver. Thy bards celebrate thee, for prefent-" ing them thy bred fleeds, when they fit at thy " tables. I myfelf am rewarded for my gift of " poetry, with gold and diftinguished respect. "Should I defire of my prince the moon as a " present he would certainly bestow it on " me 150." The poets of the north were particularly famous in this period, and greatly careffed by our Anglo-Saxon kings. " It would be end-" less (fays an excellent antiquary) to name all "the poets of the north who flourished in the " courts of the kings of England, or to relate "the diffinguished honours and magnificent " prefents that were heaped upon them 160."

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<sup>158</sup> Hift. Eliens. 1. 2. c. 27.

<sup>159</sup> Specimens of Ancient Welfh Poetry, p. 34. 36.

olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.

The same writer hath preserved the names of no fewer than eight of those Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic poets who flourished in the court of Canute the Great, King of Denmark and England, and enjoyed the favour of that prince 161. It feems to have been one of the chief amufements of the greatest princes in this period to hear the poems of their bards, to read their works, and even commit their verses to memory. Alfred the Great, as we are told by his intimate friend and companion Afferius, amidft that infinite multiplicity of affairs in which he was engaged, never neglected to fpend fome part of his time every day in getting Saxon poems by heart and teaching them to others 162. This too was also a very capital part of the education of the royal and noble youth of those times. 163

The poems of those ancient bards of the north Astonishare faid to have produced the most amazing effects ing power on those who heard them, and to have roused, or foothed, the most impetuous passions of the human mind, according to the intention of their authors. Revenge, it is well known, rages with the greatest violence in the hearts of warlike fierce barbarians, and is of all their passions the most furious and ungovernable; and yet it is said to have been fubdued by the enchanting power of poetry. Egil Skallagrim, a famous poet of those times, had quarrelled with Eric Blodox,

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<sup>161</sup> Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 243.

<sup>162</sup> Affer. de Rebus gestis Alfredi, p. 13.

<sup>163</sup> Id. ibid.

King of Norway; and in the course of that quarrel had killed the king's fon, and feveral of his friends; which raifed the rage of Eric against him to the greatest height. Egil was taken prisoner, and fent to the King, who was then in Northumberland. No fooner was he brought into the presence of the enraged monarch, who had in his own mind doomed him to the most cruel tortures, than he began to fing a poem which he had composed in praise of his royal virtues, and conveyed his flattery in fuch fweet and foothing strains, that they procured him not only the forgiveness of all his crimes, but even the favour of his prince 104. The power of poetry is thus poetically described in one of their most ancient odes: " I know a fong by which I foften " and enchant the arms of my enemies, and " render their weapons of none effect. I know " a fong which I need only to fing when men " have loaded me with bonds; for the moment " I fing it my chains fall in pieces, and I walk " forth at liberty. I know a fong ufeful to all " mankind; for as foon as hatred inflames the " fons of men, the moment I fing it they are " appeafed. I know a fong of fuch virtue, that " were I caught in a ftorm, I can hush the winds, " and render the air perfectly calm 165."

The poets of nature, and not of art. Those ancient bards who had acquired so great an ascendant over the minds of their ferocious

<sup>164</sup> Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.

Bartholin, p. 347. Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 217.

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countrymen, must certainly have been possessed of an uncommon portion of that poetic fire, which is the gift of nature, and cannot be acquired by art. This is directly afferted by one who was well acquainted with their works: " In other " languages, any person of common understand-" ing may make verses of some kind; and, by " constant practice, may even become expert at " making them: but in our Dano-Saxon lan-"guage, no man can become a poet of the " lowest order, by any efforts, unless he is in-" fpired with fome degree of the true poetic " flame. This facred fire, like all the other "gifts of nature, is bestowed in very unequal " measures. There are some who can compose " excellent verses by the help of thought and " fludy, while others, bleffed with a greater " portion of the true poetic spirit, pour forth a " torrent of verses of all kinds with perfect ease, "without premeditation. This happy genius " for poetry discovers itself even in infancy, by " fuch manifest indications, that it cannot be " mistaken, and is observed to be most ardent " about the change of the moon. When a " poet of this high order and fervid spirit is " fpeaking of his art, or pouring out his verfes, " he hath the appearance of one that is mad or "drunk. Nay, the very external marks of this " poetic fury, are in some so strong and ob-" vious, that a stranger will discover them at " first fight to be great poets, by certain fin-" gular looks and geftures, which are called in alusous of

" our language Skallviingl, i.e. the poetical vertigo." 166

Curious
account of
one of
those
ancient
poets.

Venerable Bede gives a very curious account of a Saxon poet, called Cædmon, a monk in the abbey of Streameshalch (now Whitby) in the feventh century, who exactly answered the above description. The most sublime strains of poetry were fo natural to this ancient bard, that he dreamed in verse, and composed the most admirable poems in his fleep; which he repeated as foon as he awoke. A part of one of those poems is preferved in King Alfred's Saxon version of Bede's hiftory, and is much admired by those who are most capable of forming a right judgment of its merit 167. Bede gives a Latin translation of the exordium of this poem, but confesseth that it falls far short of the beauty of the original; " for it is impossible (fays he) to translate verses "that are truly poetical, out of one language " into another, without lofing much of their original dignity and spirit 168." For this reason, I shall not attempt an English translation of this curious fragment. Cædmon was a man of low birth, and little or no learning, but poffessed so great a portion of that divine enthusiasm with which the true poet is inspired, that he turned every thing he heard into the fweetest verses, without any toil or effort. As he was a

<sup>166</sup> Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p.193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. Saxonice redita, p. 597. Hickefii Thefaur. t. 1. p. 197.

<sup>168</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1. 4. c. 24.

monk, and, according to the mode of those times, a pious man, he employed his poetic talents only on religious subjects, and composed poems on all parts of the Old and New Testament. " He fung (fays Bede) the creation of "the world,—the origin of mankind, and the " whole history of the book of Genesis,-the deliverance of the Ifraelites out of Egypt,-" their taking possession of the land of promise, " and many other scripture histories. He fung " of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and " afcension of our Saviour; of the giving of " the Holy Ghoft, and the preaching of the " apostles. In a word, he composed poems on " the divine bleffings and judgments, - on the terrors of the last day, - on the joys of heaven, " -the pains of hell, - and on many other reli-" gious subjects, to deter men from the love " of vice, and excite them to the love and prac-"tice of virtue 169." All the works of this ancient poet of nature are unhappily loft, except the small fragment above mentioned, which is the most venerable relic of the Dano-Saxon language and poetry. For the learned Dr. Hickes is of opinion, that the poetical paraphrase on the book of Genefis, published by Junius as Cædmon's, is not really the work of that ancient bard. 10 M. oraw glando ham advade and I - hamai "of the earth, (ur) the fleece of the earth;" -the

<sup>169</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.4. c. 24.

<sup>170</sup> See the most perfect copy of this fragment in Wanleii Catalog. Lib. Septentrional. p. 287.

Language of those ancient poets.

The language of the Saxon, Danish, and other northern poets, was highly figurative and metaphorical; but those figures and metaphors were not the arbitrary inventions of every particular poet, but established by ancient and universal practice. This prevented, in some measure, that obscurity, which so constant a succession of strong figures would otherwise have occasioned. Rogvald, Earl of the Orkney ifles, who was a famous poet as well as a great warrior, compiled a kind of dictionary of those established figures and metaphors, for the use both of poets and their readers, which he entitled the Poetical Key 171. Many of those poetical metaphors were taken from the ancient Pagan theology and mythology of the northern nations. For example, -heaven was "the scull of the giant Imar;"-the rainbow was "the bridge of the gods;" - gold was "the tears of Freya;" -- poetry, "the pre-" fent, (or) the drink of Odin;" - the earth, " the spouse of Odin, the flesh of Imar, (or) the "daughter of night;" - a battle, "the hail of "Odin," &c. All these and many others of the fame kind, were allusions to particular fables in the Edda 172. But the far greatest number of these poetical metaphors were taken from the appearances, properties, and uses of natural objects. Thus, herbs and plants were "the hair " of the earth, (or) the fleece of the earth;"—the

<sup>171</sup> Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Northern Antiquities, vol. 1. p. 395.

fun, "the candle of the gods;" - the fea, "the " field of pirates, the girdle of the earth, the " country of whales;" - ice, "the greatest of "bridges;"-a ship, "the horse of the waves;" -a combat, "the bath of blood, (or) the clang " of bucklers;" - arrows, " the birds of war, " (or) the fnakes of war;" - foldiers, " the " wolves of war;" - the tongue, " the fword of "words;" - the foul, "the treasure of the " breaft, (or) the keeper of the bony house," &c. &c. 173 But after all, this profusion of metaphors, and other figures, together with the very involved arrangement of the words, of which many are purely poetical, and never used in profe, render the style of the Saxon, Danish, and other northern poets, not a little obscure to the greatest proficients in those languages among the moderns, though perhaps it appeared sufficiently clear to their cotemporaries.

The rules and measures of the versification of Rules of the ancient Saxon and Danish poets, are still versifica. more obscure, if not quite inexplicable. This is owing to the great fingularity, prodigious artifice, and almost endless variety of the kinds and measures of their verses. "The different kinds of verses (says one of the best judges) com-" posed by the Saxon, Danish, and Icelandic " poets, were almost innumerable: for such was "the greatness and fertility of their genius,

<sup>173</sup> Northern Antiquities, vol. 1. p. 395. Hickesii Thesaur. t. 1. p. 199. Elleright Dinion days att.

that there was no end of their inventions. It may, however, be observed, that the number of the different kinds of verses commonly " used by these poets, did not exceed one hun-" dred and thirty-fix, without including that kind in which our modern poets fo much de-" light, which confifts wholly in ending every "two lines with fimilar founds. The harmony of these different kinds of verses did not con-" fift only in the fuccession of long and short " fyllables, according to certain rules, as among " the Greeks and Romans; nor in the fimilar " founds of the terminating fyllables, as among the modern's; but in a certain confonancy and " repetition of the fame letters, fyllables, and " founds, in different parts of the stanza, which " produced the most musical tones, and af-" fected the hearers with the most marvellous es delight." 174

Rules of the drotquæt, or common fong.

Our ears, being quite unaccustomed to these ancient modes of verification, cannot be fufceptible of the impressions of their harmony but in a very imperfect degree; and therefore a very particular account of them would neither be pleafing nor inftructive. It may not, however, be improper to gratify the curiofity of our readers, by laying before them the rules of one of these kinds of verse, which will enable them to form a general idea of all the reft. The kind of verse most proper for this purpose, is

regular Chickens The Aurologa

that which was called *Drotquæt* or common fong, being that which was most commonly used in finging the praises of their kings and heroes. This kind of verse was constructed in the following manner.

Each verse or line consisted of fix syllables, each distich of two lines, and each stanza of four distichs, or eight lines.

The harmony of this kind of verse in each distich was partly literary and partly syllabical.

The literary harmony confifted in this, that three words in each diftich should begin with the same letters, two in the first line of the distich, and one in the second. These initials were called the sonorous letters.

The fyllabical harmony confifted in this, that there should be two fyllables of similar sounds in each line, which were called the sonorous fyllables.

This fyllabical harmony was either perfect or imperfect. It was perfect when the fimilar fyllables confifted both of the fame vowels and confonants; imperfect when they confifted of the fame confonants, but not of the fame vowels. The fyllabical harmony might be imperfect in the first line of a distich, but it was always to be perfect in the second.

All these rules are illustrated and exemplified in the two following Latin lines, which form a distich of the drotquæt or common song of the Danes and Saxons. The sonorous letters and syllables

fyllables are in capitals, that they may be more readily diffinguished.

" ChrisTus Caput nOSTrum
" CorONet te bONis."

their kings and befores,

In this diffich C is the fonorous letter, and begins two words in the first line, and one in the second. In the first line, IST and OST are the two sonorous syllables, but imperfect, consisting of the same consonants, but not of the same vowels. ON and ON are the sonorous syllables in the second line, being perfect, as consisting both of the same vowels and consonants, all agreeable to the above rules. Four such distichs formed a complete stanza of the drotquæt; of which the reader will find several examples, as well as a more minute description, in the learned and curious work so often quoted on this subject. 1715

Great variety of verification.

It is eafy to perceive, from the above example, that this alliterative and fyllabical harmony was capable of almost endless variations, by changing the length of the verses, the number and position of the sonorous letters and fyllables, and by other methods. This gave the Saxon and Danish poets great opportunities of displaying their genius, by producing so many different species of verse. Nor was this kind of harmony arising from the repetition and artful disposition of similar sounds and letters, peculiar

Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, in Append.

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to the scalds or poets of England and Scandinavia; but was cultivated, in fome degree, by those of all the other nations of the world of whom we have any knowledge. Of this a thoufand examples might eafily be produced, in various languages; but the reader will probably be fatisfied with a few from the most celebrated Latin poets, which he will find in a note. 176

This mode of verification continued to be oc- Example cafionally used by the poets of England long after the conclusion of the period we are now examining. The following example, from the vifions of Pierce Plowman, published about the middle of the fourteenth century, may be taken both as an illustration and a proof of this. This fpecimen will be found to approach very near to the rules of the drotquæt or common fong above described, but deviates a little from them, and thereby shews what small variations produced a new kind of verfe. wall deword (establish

druil liberties in composite large

and and more alice

When hot was the fun,

<sup>&</sup>quot; I shope me into shroubs

<sup>66</sup> Inhabit as an harmet,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Unholy of werkes,

<sup>176</sup> O Tite! tute Tati tibi tanta tyranni tulisti. Ennius. Non potuit paucis plura plane proloqui. Plautus. Libera lingua loquuntur ludis liberalibus. Navius. Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur. Catullus. Ductores Danaum delecti prima virorum. Lucretius. Pectora plaufa cavis, et colla comantia pectunt. Virgilius. Vide plura apud Hickefii Thefaur. t. 1. p. 195, 196.

"Went wyde in this world
"Wonders to heare." 177

Had a great regard to quantities.

Befides this alliterative harmony, the Saxon and Danish poets are believed to have had as ftrict a regard to the harmonious succession of long and fhort fyllables as those of Greece and Rome; which afforded them another mean of multiplying their modes of verfification. Their language was much better fitted for this kind of harmony than modern English, as it had not near fo great a proportion of words of one fyllable, and as its quantities were much better fixed and afcertained 178. "The Anglo-Saxons " (fays one of the greatest critics), conscious of the dignity, elegance, sweetness, and har-"mony of their language, were much addicted to poetry. That kind of verse in which "they most delighted was the Adonian (con-" fifting of one long two fhort and two long " fyllables), though they fometimes deviated a " little from the strict rules of that measure. " For as the Greek and Latin poets, when they " wrote Iambicks, did not always adhere to the "ftrictest laws of that kind of verse, but made " use of various liberties; so the Anglo-Saxon " and Dano-Saxon poets allowed themselves equal liberties in composing their Adonics." 179

<sup>177</sup> See Relics of ancient English Poetry, second edit. vol. 2. p. 269, &c.

<sup>178</sup> Hickefii Thefaur. t. 1. p. 188.

<sup>179</sup> Wanleii Catalog. in Præfat. fub fin.

The truth is, that a very great number of the Anglo-Saxon verses now remaining are Adonics. or fomething very like them. 180

Though the Saxon, Danish, and other nor-Used thern fealds, had no fewer than one hundred rhymes. and thirty fix different kinds of verse, without including rhyme, there is the clearest evidence that they were not unacquainted with this last fpecies of verfification. To fay nothing of their introducing rhyme into their Latin poetry, there are not a few of their poems in their own language still extant, which are most exactly rhymed, and fome of them have even double rhymes 181. So many different methods had the ancient poets of Britain and Scandinavia, of pleafing the ears, and delighting the imaginations of their countrymen, while those of modern Europe are limited to a very few!

All the observations that have been made British above, concerning the verification of the Saxon poets. fcops or poets, and of the northern fcalds 182, may be applied to the bards of Wales and Scotland in this period. For though the languages in which the scalds and bards fung their tuneful strains, were as different as it is possible for any two languages to be, yet there appears to have

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<sup>180</sup> Hickefii Thefaur. t. 1. p. 189, &c.

<sup>181</sup> Northern Antiquities, vol. 1. p. 309.

<sup>182</sup> The Saxon name for poet was fcop or fceop, from the verb sceoppan, " to shape (or) make;" the Danish name was scald, from scaldre, " to polish."

been a very furprifing fimilarity between their modes of verification, both being exceedingly various, and chiefly of the alliterative kind. Whether this fimilarity was owing to the Welfh bards having imitated the Saxon fcops and Danish scalds (as some imagine), or to something in nature, and the state of fociety, which directed them all to purfue the fame course (as others fancy), it is not eafy to determine 183. The poetic genius of the provincial Britons was much depressed during their long subjection to the Romans; but it revived when they recovered their liberty, and shone forth in its meridian luftre, when they were engaged in their long and bloody flruggle with the Saxons 184. The bards then raifed their voices, and roufed their countrymen to fight bravely in defence of their country, their liberty, their parents, wives, children, and religion, by the most animating ftrains. It was in this period (the fixth century) that Taliefin, the king of bards, Ancurin, Llywarch-Hen, Cian, Talhiarn, and all the most famous Welsh poets flourished 185. But unfortunately the works of some of these poets are loft, and those of the others become obscure, and almost unintelligible. 186

Various kinds of poems. It would fwell this article beyond all proportion to enumerate and give examples of all the

186 Id. ibid.

different

<sup>183</sup> See Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 196, &c.

<sup>184</sup> See vol. 2. p. 190.

<sup>185</sup> Evan Evan Dissertatio de Bardis.

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different kinds of poems composed by the British, Saxon, and Danish poets, of this island, in this period. The subjects of their songs were as various as their verification. To fay nothing of their religious hymns, and their poems in praise of faints, which were very numerous, they inflamed the courage of combatants, and taught the battle to rage, by their martial fongs: they celebrated the exploits, and fung the victories, of heroes, and preferved the memory of all great events, in their historical compositions: the beauties of the fair, and the joys and cares of virtuous love, were not forgotten: nor did they neglect to lash the vices of bad men by their fatires, or to lament the forrows of the difconfolate by their elegies, or to increase the pleasures of festivity by their mirthful glees. Examples of all these kinds of poems, and of feveral others, may be feen in the books quoted below. 187

Music was as much admired and cultivated as Music poetry by all the nations who inhabited this island in the period we are now examining. These two pleasing arts were inseparable and universal. The halls of all the kings, princes, and nobles of Britain, rung with the united melody of the poet's voice and the musician's harp; while every mountain, hill, and dale, was vocal. The

<sup>489</sup> Hickesi Thesaur. t. 2. Bartholin. de Causis cotemp. Mortis. Olai Literatura Danica. Shiffer Hist. Lapon. Five pieces of Runic Poetry. Specimens of ancient Welsh Poetry, &c.

poet and the mufician was indeed most commonly the same person; who, bleffed at once with a poetical genius, a tuneful voice, and skilful hand, fung and played the fongs which he had composed. Talents so various and delightful were objects of ambition to the greatest monarchs, and procured the meanest who possessed them, both riches, honours, and royal favour. Alfred the Great, who united every pleafing to every great accomplishment, excelled as much in music as he did in war; and ravished his enemies with his harp, before he fubdued them with his fword. " Not long after (fays one of " the best of our ancient historians), Alfred ad-" ventured to leave his hiding-place in the ifle " of Æthelingey, and gave a proof of his great " wisdom and dexterity. For taking his harp " in his hand, and pretending to be a poet and " musician, he entered the Danish camp, at-" tended only by one faithful friend. Being " admitted into the royal tent, he entertained " the King and his nobles, feveral days, with " his fongs and music, and thereby had an op-" portunity of gaining all the intelligence he " defired 188." We learn from the fame hiftorian, that Anlaff, the Danish King of Northumberland, practifed the same stratagemagainst King Athelstan, and almost with the same success. " He fung so sweetly before the royal " tent, and at the same time touched his harp

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" with fuch exquisite skill, that he was invited to " enter; and having entertained the King and " his nobles with his music while they sat at " dinner, he was dismissed with a valuable pre-" fent 189." The famous Egil Skillagrim, the Norwegian poet already mentioned, was fo great a favourite with the same King Athelstan, on account of his mufical and poetical talents, in which he equally excelled, that he loaded him with riches and honours, and could deny him nothing 190. The first musician, who was also a poet, was the eighth officer in dignity in the courts of the Kings of Wales, and had a place in the royal hall next to the steward of the household 191. But it would be endless to produce all the proofs that occur in history of the high esteem in which those who excelled in music were held in the courts of the Danish, Saxon, and British princes of this period.

Some skill in vocal and instrumental music Music unifeems to have been necessary to every man who verfally wished to mingle in decent company; and to be without it was esteemed disgraceful. This appears from a very curious passage in Bede's account of the religious poet Cædmon. " This " extraordinary person was so devout and pious,

" that he could never make any poems on com-

" mon and trifling subjects; and no strains ever

" proceeded out of his mouth, but fuch as

cultivated

191 Leges Wallicze, p. 35.

<sup>189</sup> W. Malmf. l. 2. c.6.

<sup>190</sup> Arngr. Ionaf. Islandic. 1. 2. p. 129.

66 breathed a spirit of piety and religion. Even 66 before he became a monk, when he was in a " fecular state of life, in which he continued till " he was of an advanced age, he never learned " any of those frivolous fongs that were in " common use. Of these he was so totally ig-" norant, that when he happened to be at an " entertainment, and it was proposed, as usual, "that every person present should sing and play " on the harp in his turn, to increase the fes-" tivity of the company; as foon as he faw the " harp, which was handed about, approaching " near to him, he arose, sneaked out of the company, and retired to his own house 192." Alfred the Great, in his Saxon version of Bede's history, suggests the reason of this conduct of Cædmon, viz. that he was ashamed to discover his ignorance of two fuch common accomplishments as those of finging and playing on the harp 103. Cædmon, before he became a monk, was a person in the very lowest rank of life, being employed in keeping a gentleman's cattle, under the direction of an overfeer; and his companions feem to have been of the fame humble station, as there was but one harp in the company. This shews how univerfal some skill in vocal and inftrumental mufic was in the period we are now confidering; and that thefe two kinds of music were inseparable. For these people

<sup>192</sup> Bed. Hift. Ecclef. 1.4. c. 24.

<sup>193</sup> Id. ibid. a Smith, edit. p. 597. See Relics of ancient Poetry, vol. 1. p. 50.

feem to have had no idea of finging without playing on the harp at the same time, or of playing on the harp without finging.

It would be quite superfluous to spend any The harp time in proving, that the harp was the favourite the most mufical inftrument of the Britons, Saxons, Danes, mufical inand indeed of all the nations of Europe, in the frument. middle ages. This is evident from their laws and from every passage in their history, in which there is the least allusion to music. By the laws of Wales, a harp was one of the three things that were necessary to constitute a gentleman, i. e. a freeman; and none could pretend to that character who had not one of these favourite instruments, or could not play upon it 194. By the fame laws, to prevent flaves from pretending to be gentlemen, it was expressly forbidden to teach, or to permit them to play upon the harp; and none but the King, the King's muficians, and gentlemen, were allowed to have harps in their possession 195. A gentleman's harp was not liable to be feized for debt; because the want of it would have degraded him from his rank, and reduced him to a flave. The harp was in no less estimation and universal use among the Saxons, Danes, and all the other northern nations, by whom it is supposed to have been invented 196. Those who played upon this inftrument were declared gentlemen by law; their

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<sup>194</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 301.

<sup>196</sup> Hickefii Gram. Franko. Theotesca, p. 96.

persons were esteemed inviolable, and secured from injuries by very fevere penalties; they were readily admitted into the highest company, and treated with diftinguished marks of respect wherever they appeared. 197

fical inftruments.

Other mu- Though the harp was the most common, it was far from being the only mufical instrument that was used by the Saxons, Danes, Welsh, and other inhabitants of this island, in this period. They had indeed a great variety, both of wind and stringed instruments, which are occasionally mentioned by the writers of those times, some of which are now unknown. "The instruments of " practical music (says Bede, in his treatise on " that subject) are either natural or artificial. "The natural inftruments are the lungs, the "throat, the tongue, the palate, &c.; the arti-" ficial instruments are the organ, the violin, "the harp, the atola, the pfaltry, &c. &c. 198." The trumpet, the tabor, the pipe, the flute, &c. are mentioned by the same venerable author in other parts of that treatife; and we meet with the lute, the cymbal, the citola, the lyre, the fiftrum, the campanula, and feveral others, in the other writers of the middle ages 199. It may be questioned, whether the organ mentioned by Bede was an instrument of the same kind with that which bears this name in modern times. Some are of opinion, that it was not, but rather

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<sup>197</sup> Leges Angl. apud Lindenbrog. p. 485.

<sup>193</sup> Bedæ Opera, Coloniæ, 1612, p. 353.

<sup>199</sup> Du Cange Gloff. in voc.

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an instrument composed of several reeds, and blown with the mouth 200. But as there is fufficient evidence, that organs blown with bellows, and of the same construction with ours, were known in the East in the fourth century, it is not improbable that they had made their way into Britain about the end of the feventh or beginning of the eighth age, when Bede flourished 201. That organs were erected and used in some of the principal churches in England, in this period, we have the fullest evidence. The famous St. Dunstan made a present of an organ with brass pipes, to the abbey-church of Malmsbury, from his great veneration for the memory of St. Aldhelm, the founder of that church; and to this organ a plate of brafs was affixed, on which the following diffich was engraved:

Organa do Sancto Præful Dunstanus Aldelmo, Perdat bic æternum qui wult binc tollere regnum. 101

The famous Ailwyn, Alderman of all England, and founder of Ramfay abbey, expended no less than thirty pounds of Saxon money, equal in quantity of filver to ninety, and in efficacy to nine hundred pounds of our money, in building an organ, with brass pipes, in the church of that abbey 203. The people of North Wales had a musical instrument, called in their language, a crwd, and, in the barbarous Latin of those times, crotta, which had fix strings of catgut, and very

<sup>200</sup> Murat. Antiq. t. 2. p. 357.

<sup>202</sup> W. Malmf. de Pontificibus, I. 5.

<sup>201</sup> Id. ibid. p.358.

<sup>103</sup> Histor. Ramfiens. e. 54.

much refembled the modern violin 204. It was usual on solemn occasions for a great number of singers, harpers, and players on other instruments, to sing and play in concert; and from the above enumeration, which is far from being perfect, we may perceive that they had a sufficient number of instruments to make abundance of noise.

Aftonishing effects of music.

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The most astonishing effects are ascribed to the music, as well as to the poetry, of the prefent period; and these effects were probably owing to the natural and happy union of both those pleasing arts, rather than to the intrinsic excellence of either of them. Olaus Magnus relates the following flory as an example of the furprifing power of poetry and music: " A cer-" tain famous scald and harper in the court of "King Eric the Good used to boast, that he " could raise and inflame the passions of the " human heart to any degree he pleafed. The King, partly by promifes, and partly by " threats, prevailed upon the artist, much against " his inclination, to make the experiment on " him and his courtiers. The fcald begun by " finging fuch mournful strains, and playing in " fuch plaintive tones, that the whole company " were overwhelmed with forrow, and melted " into tears: by and by he fung and played " fuch joyous and exhilarating airs, that they " forgot their forrows, and began to laugh,

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" and dance, and shout, and give every demon-" ftration of the most unbounded mirth: at last " changing his fubject and his tune, he poured " forth fuch loud, fierce, and angry founds, "that they were feized with the most frantic " rage, and would have fallen by mutual wounds, " if the guards, at a fignal given, had not " rushed in and bound them; but, unhappily, " before the King was overpowered, he killed " no fewer than four of those who endeavoured " to apprehend him 305." Venerable Bede, who was a philosopher, as well as a poet and musician, speaks of the effects of music in his time, in more temperate strains, and yet represents them as confiderable. "Great is the utility of " music, and its effects are admirable. It is " indeed of all the arts the most laudable, plea-" fant, joyous, and amiable; and renders men brave, liberal, courteous, and agreeable, by its great power over their paffions and affec-44 tions. How much, for example, doth mar-"tial music rouse the courage of combatants? and is it not observed, that the louder and " more terrible the clangor is, the more fiercely doth the battle rage? Is it not music that " purifies and delights the hearts of men, that " dispels their forrows, alleviates their cares, improves their joys, and revives them after " their fatigues? Nay, is it not music that " cures the headach, and some other diseases,

" and promotes the health of the body, as well as the happiness of the mind 200?" Can we reasonably suppose, that the music of those times was contemptible, when so wise and good a man as Bede, who was so well acquainted with it, ascribes to it such effects?

Churchmusic.

After the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, they became acquainted with a new kind of music, to which they had formerly been strangers. This was church-music; which, from a principle of piety, as well as from their natural tafte for the tuneful arts, they cultivated with uncommon ardour. To instruct them in that music, which was very different from their own, they procured the ablest masters from Rome, and sent some of their most ingenious youth to that city for instruction. One of the most celebrated of these' foreign teachers of church-music was John, the arch-chantor of St. Peter's at Rome, and abbot of St. Martin's in that city; who, at the request of the famous Benedict Biscop, founder of the monastery of Weremouth, was fent over by Pope Agatha, A. D. 678. to teach the monks of Weremouth, and the other English monks, the art of finging the public fervices after the Roman manner. "This abbot John (fays Bede, " who was then a young scholar in the monastery " of Weremouth) taught all the monks of our " monastery the art of finging; and all the "monks in the other monasteries of Northum-

<sup>206</sup> Opera Bedæ, t. 1. p. 353.

" berland, who had a taste for music, came "thither, and put themselves under his care. " Befides this, he taught in many other places, " where he was invited, and also left directions " in writing for finging the fervice of the whole " year, which are still preserved in our mo-" naftery, and of which many copies are pub-" lished 207." Church-music was one of the chief branches of learning taught in the college of Canterbury; and professors of this music were sent from thence into all other parts of England 208. But those who were desirous of attaining to the highest degree of excellence in this kind of music, which was then one of the most admired accomplishments of the clergy, and the most certain means of preferment in the church, travelled to Rome for their improvement in it, where it was taught in the most perfect manner. 2009

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<sup>207</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. 1.4. c. 18.

<sup>208</sup> Id. 1.5. c.2Q.

<sup>299</sup> Id. ibid.

School and a talle for souther came distinct, and put the afelves under his care. Belides this, he taught in many other places. should be was beginned and help lett discussions alogia set i lo prograft od romanis act guidave or, 2 year, which are fill preferred in our mos and of which ways porces are pulse "I lithed 25.7 & Education of the sear proceed the about orangles of tears but saided in the safety of Confrom thence late all other parts of buddend the But their who were defects of oftening to the highest dampe of exdellence drives kind of milities. which was then one of the good selffers as dollar autron Hammer's ban careed but to attenualling mental professional in the statement less to me the statement of the state sure I was to a training appropriate ingit and amphitowers in the middle parients manneries in more and The state of the s A Property of Marian Telephone School A. W. thereby of the time at the rest of the desired to Spiritage with a let them be been be adviced and better of the blood of region sites of the control books at the

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HISTORY OF BRITISIN.

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## GREAT BRITAIN.

## ance to its proferity, and merits the strendion BOOK II.

## as a first tome scountines and biedled with a CHAP. VI.

The history of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping in Great Britain from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449. to the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066.

OMMERCE is no less necessary to the pro- Importfperity of particular states and kingdoms, ance of internal and of the world in general, than the circulation commerce. of the blood to the health of the human body. As foon as any fociety is formed, in any country, under any form of government, commerce begins it operations, and circulates the natural productions of the earth, - the various animals that are used for labour, food or clothing, -together with all those commodities that are the effects of human art and industry, among the members of that fociety, for the good of the whole, and

of every individual. This may be called internal commerce; because its effects and operations are confined within the limits of one particular state and country. This internal commerce is always the first, and for some time the only commerce, that is carried on in the infancy of states and kingdoms. It is also the most constant and permanent, and, like the circulation of the blood, is never interrupted a single moment while the society subsists. The home trade, or internal commerce of a kingdom, therefore, is an object of great importance to its prosperity, and merits the attention of the historian in every period.

And of foreign trade.

Though fome countries are bleffed with a more fertile foil and friendly climate, and abound more with the necessaries and comforts of life, than others, it may be affirmed with truth, that there is hardly any habitable country, that hath not a redundancy of some useful commodities, and a want or fcarcity of others. This makes it natural for the inhabitants of every country to defire to dispose of their superfluities to procure a fupply of their necessities; which can only be accomplished by opening a commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of other countries, who want what they can spare, and can spare what they want. These mutual necessities of the inhabitants of different countries, states, and kingdoms, by degrees overcome their mutual diflikes and jealousies, and give rise to an interchange of commodities, which may be called foreign commerce. This foreign commerce, in any country,

is at first but small, extending only to contiguous flates and kingdoms; but when it prospers, and is well conducted, it is gradually more and more enlarged, until it penetrates into the most distant regions, and brings home the productions of every climate. To attend, therefore, to the gradual increase, and various revolutions of the foreign trade of a commercial country, in the feveral periods of its history, is an object equally curious and important.

It hath been made appear, in the fixth chapter Recapituof the first book of this work, that both the internal and foreign commerce of provincial Britain commerce were in a very flourishing condition in the Roman in the for times . The natural productions and manufac-riod. tures of each of the Roman provinces in this island had a free circulation into the other provinces, by means of coafting veffels, navigable rivers, and excellent highways. The fuperfluous corn, cattle, minerals, and manufactures, of all these provinces, were exported into all parts of the Roman empire, where they were wanted, and valuable returns brought home, either in goods or cash. It hath also been observed, that both the internal and foreign trade of provincial Britain began to decline very fenfibly before the end of the preceding period, the former being much interrupted by the depredations of the Scots and Picts, and the latter by the piracies of the Franks and Saxons2. But by the final de-

lation of the state of mer pe

See book I. c. 6.

2 Id. ibid.

parture of the Romans out of this island, its internal commerce was reduced to the lowest ebb. and its foreign trade almost quite annihilated 3. Nor did either of these revive, in any remarkable degree, till after the establishment of the Saxon heptarchy. For in that deplorable interval between the arrival of the Saxons and their eftablishment war was almost the only trade of all the British nations. But as soon as the rage of those long and bloody wars between the Britons and Saxons began to abate, by the retreat of the former into Wales and Cornwall, and the establishment of the latter in that part of Britain which was foon after called England, all those nations began to pay greater attention to the arts of peace, and particularly to trade and commerce. From this æra, therefore, in the course of the fixth century, we shall begin the annals of commerce in the present period.

Anglo-Saxons neglected maritime affairs. There are few examples in history of so sudden a change in the pursuits and employments of any people, as in those of the Anglo-Saxons, after their arrival in this island. Before that time, the sea was their favourite element, and navigation the art in which they most delighted and excelled. "The Saxons (says an author of the fifth century) are not only well acquainted, but perfectly familiar, with the arts of navigation, and all the dangers of the sea 4." But

<sup>3</sup> See book 1. c.6.

<sup>4</sup> Sidon. Apollin. 1.3. epift.6.

merchants

as foon as they began to form fettlements in the pleafant and fertile plains of Britain, they abandoned the fea, and neglected maritime affairs for feveral centuries. This was partly owing to the long and obstinate refistance they met with from the Britons, which obliged them to employ all their forces at land, and to neglect the fea; and partly to the fertility of their new fettlements; which, furnishing them with all the necessaries and conveniences of life of which they had any ideas, they remained contented at home, and no longer infested the narrow seas with their piratical expeditions. The fact, however, is undeniable, that the Anglo-Saxons, during their ftruggle with the Britons, and for near two centuries after, had very few thips, and almost totally neglected maritime affairs. After their feveral armies landed in this island, we hear no more of their fleets, which they either destroyed or suffered to rot in their harbours. In this period, therefore, and indeed during the whole continuance of the heptarchy, the Anglo-Saxons had very little commercial intercourse with any of the countries on the continent; and that little was chiefly carried on by foreigners. Venerable Bede, who is our furest guide in this dark interval, acquaints us, "That the city of London, the capital of the little kingdom of Effex, was a famous emporium (probably the only one then in "Britain), frequented by merchants of feveral " nations, who came to it both by fea and land

"on account of trade." This feems to intimate, that London was the great centre of the British commerce in those times; to which the Anglo-Saxon merchants, from the different nations of the heptarchy, brought their goods by land, and there met with foreign merchants, who came thither by sea to purchase these goods, either with money, or with other goods, which they had brought from the continent. In this manner, the greatest part of the little trade between England and the continent was carried on till about the middle of the eighth century.

Foreign trade revived by Offa King of Mercia. Offa King of Mercia, who mounted that throne A. D. 755., feems to have been the first of our Anglo-Saxon princes who gave any great attention to trade and maritime affairs. This great prince encouraged his fubjects to fit out ships, and carry their goods to the continent in English bottoms, with a view to raife a naval power for the protection of his dominions. The other petty princes of the heptarchy, dreading the power and ambition of Offa, applied to Charlemagne, the greatest monarch who had reigned in Europe fince the fall of the Roman empire, for his protection against their too powerful neighbour, of whom they made very bitter complaints. This occasioned a violent misunderstanding between these two great princes, and very much interrupted the trade of England in its infancy. Charlemagne treated the English s, who came to it both by sea and land

<sup>5</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. l. 2. c.3.

merchants, fubjects of the King of Mercia, with great feverity, and even denied them admission into his ports; which provoked Offa, who was a prince of a high spirit, to treat the Emperor's fubjects in the same manner in England. " I "know not (fays the famous Alcuinus in one of his letters) what will become of us in this country; for an unhappy contention, fo-" mented by the malice of the devil, hath lately " arisen between Charlemagne and King Offa, and hath proceeded fo far, that a ftop is put to " all commerce between their dominions. There " is a report, that I am to be fent abroad to "negociate a peace"." This report proved true. Alcuinus was fent abroad; and conducted his negociation with fo much address, that he not only concluded a commercial treaty between Offa and Charlemagne, but became one of the greatest favourites of that mighty monarch.

There is an article in this ancient commercial Singular treaty, which informs us of a very fingular kind kind of of fmuggling that was carried on by the English merchants of those times. The Emperor Charlemagne had imposed certain customs or duties on all kinds of merchandise imported into his dominions, and appointed officers in all his ports for collecting these customs. Some English merchants, in order to elude the payment of these duties, put on the habits of pilgrims, and pretended that they were travelling to Rome, or

fmuggling.

command; and if any of them are oppreffed or W. Malmf. l.r. c. 4. p. x7.

hour History

fome other place, on a religious account, and that the bales which they carried with them contained nothing but provisions and necessaries for their journey, which were exempted from paying any duty. But the collectors of the customs (a fuspicious unbelieving kind of men in all ages) often fearched the parcels of these pretended palmers; and finding them to contain merchantgoods, either feized them, or imposed a heavy fine upon their owners; which occasioned loud complaints, and was one of the subjects of controverfy between the two princes; Offa infifting that the baggage of all his fubjects who travelled through the Emperor's dominions on pilgrimages, should be allowed to pass unsearched. Alcuinus was not able to carry this point; which, to fay the truth, was not very reasonable: but the following article was inferted in the treaty, which fufficiently fecured all real pilgrims from injury: " All ftrangers who pass through our dominions " to vifit the thresholds of the blessed apostles, " for the love of God and the falvation of their " fouls, shall be allowed to pass without paying 44 any toll or duty; but fuch as only put on the " habit of pilgrims, and under that purfue their " traffic and merchandife, must pay the legal " duties at the appointed places. It is also our " will, that all merchants shall enjoy the most " perfect fecurity for their perfons and effects under our protection, and according to our " command; and if any of them are oppressed or " injured, let them appeal to us or our judges, " and

" and they shall obtain the most ample satisfacse tion?" Such feems to have been the state of the little trade between England and the continent in the times of the heptarchy; carried on chiefly by foreigners, and a few English subjects, who were rather pedlars than merchants, and not very famous either for their wealth or honefty. So fmall were the beginnings of the trade of England, which hath fince arisen to so great a Charles and all others topiced in height!

The animofities that fubfifted between the No com-Anglo-Saxons and Britons, during their long and bloody wars, were too violent to admit of between any trade, or the exchange of any thing but the Angloblows and injuries. Even after these wars had welch. fubfided, by the fettlement of the former in England, and the retreat of the latter into Wales, the intercourse between them was rather hostile and predatory than commercial; for the Britons still considering themselves as the rightful owners of the fine countries from which they had been expelled, made frequent inroads into the English territories, and seized every thing they could lay their hands upon as their own property. These predatory expeditions were so far from being confidered by the Britons as having any thing shameful or unlawful in them, that they were esteemed the most facred duties, and most honourable exploits, of their greatest men; for which they were highly celebrated by their bards

mercial in-Saxons and

who attended them 8. " The royal bard shall attend the king's domestics when they go out "to plunder the English, and shall sing and of play before them for their encouragement. "If they meet with refistance, and a battle " enfue, he shall fing the fong called the Old " British monarchy." Many laws were made for regulating the division of the booty taken in these expeditions, between the king, the great officers of his court, and all others concerned?. It is in vain to look for the peaceful and equitable 40.00 000 transactions of commerce between nations who lived on this unfriendly footing; and on this footing the inhabitants of England and Wales lived till long after the conclusion of the heptarchy. The injuries which the unhappy Britons had fuftained were too great to be foon forgotten by their posterity.

Commerce between the different states of the heptarchy.

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Though the Anglo Saxons were divided into feveral petty states and kingdoms in the times of the heptarchy, yet as they all spoke the same language and were in reality the same people, we have no reason to doubt that the inhabitants of different states traded sometimes with each other, when these states were not at open war. The people of some of these states were addicted to agriculture, and those of others to pasturage, which made a commercial intercourse between them for their mutual benefit. But notwithstanding this, it cannot be denied, that the

political divisions of the Anglo-Saxons into so many governments, must have been a great interruption to their internal commerce, by their national jealoufies and frequent wars. It is fomething more than an illustration of this, that though the people of England and Scotland were as near, and almost as like to each other, before they were united into one kingdom, as they have been fince; yet their commercial dealings were not near fo great. Without Store of the bis

The internal as well as the foreign commerce Restraints of the Anglo-Saxons in the times of the hep- on trade. tarchy was very trifling, and lay under manifold restraints. How great a restraint, for example, must the following law have been, that was made by Lothere King of Kent, who flourished about the middle of the feventh century: -" If any of "the people of Kent buy any thing in the city " of London, he must have two or three honest " men, or the king's portreeve (who was the " chief magistrate of the city), present at the " bargain 10." By the fame Saxon laws, no man was allowed to buy any thing above the value of twenty pence, except within a town, and in the presence of the chief magistrate, and other witnesses". The same restraints were laid upon bartering one commodity for another: "Let none exchange one thing for another, " except in the presence of the sheriff, the massor prieft, the lord of the manor, or some other

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Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Id. ibid.

" person of undoubted veracity. If they do otherwife, they shall pay a fine of thirty shil-" lings, befides forfeiting the goods fo exchanged " to the lord of the manor 12." The defign of thefe and feveral other troublefome regulations was, to afcertain the terms of all bargains, at a time when very few could write, that, if any dispute arose, there might be sufficient evidence to direct the judges in their determinations; and also to prevent impositions of all kinds, and the fale of faulty and of stolen goods; or in case of fuch being fold, that the innocent party might be indemnified and the guilty punished. These regulations however must have been a great interruption to all commercial dealings; and clearly shew, that internal, as well as foreign trade, was then in a very low flate; and that the members of fociety had little knowledge of bufiness, or confidence in each other's honesty. By the laws of Wales, another precaution was added, to prevent the possibility of imposition, by fixing a certain legal price upon every commodity that could be the fubject of commerce; and this is done in these laws, with a fullness of enumeration, in a degree of minuteness, that is truly curious and furprifing 13. For example, there is in these laws a whole section, and that none of the shortest, settling the prices of cats, from the moment of their birth through all the stages of

<sup>&</sup>quot; Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.9.

life, according to their various properties 14. It is true, thefe laws had another view befides regulating the prices of these commodities in sales; which was to regulate the damages that were to be paid for them in case of their destruction. It must also have been a discouragement to internal commerce, that in those times a certain proportion of the price of all commodities bought and fold in each kingdom was payable to the king, when it was above twenty pence; and this was another reason why their laws required, that all bargains for things above that value, should be made within the gates of the towns, and in the presence of the sheriff, or portreeve, who collected these duties. This custom, like many others, the Anglo-Saxons adopted from the Romans; and it was continued from the beginning to the end of this period; of which it will be fufficient to give one example. From Doomfday-book it appears that a certain proportion of the price of every thing bought and fold within the borough of Lewes in Suffex was to be paid to the portreeve, the one half by the buyer, and the other by the feller; and particularly that the portreeve was to receive fourpence for every man that was fold within that borough. 15

As we have mentioned feveral laws and cuf- Infinition toms in this period, which had a tendency to of fairs and

<sup>14</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 247, 248.

Scriptores Saxon. a T. Gale edit. t. I. p. 762. abashum.

cramp and reftrain internal commerce, it is but just to take some notice of such as were calculated to promote it. Of this kind the inflitution of markets and fairs at certain flated times and places was certainly one of the most effectual, as it brought buyers and fellers, and things to be bought and fold, together. This inftitution was not the invention of the Anglo-Saxons, but had been long established in all the provinces of the Roman empire, and was wifely continued by them, and by all the other barbarous nations who took possession of those provinces on the fall of that empire. All those nations, however, regulated their fairs and markets according to their own customs and ideas. The appointment of the times and places of those mercantile meetings was one of the royal prerogatives; and they were commonly appointed when and where there was a concourse of people on some other account. This is the reason that the weekly markets in the former part of this period were commonly at churches (which were then chiefly in towns), and on Sundays, that the people might have an opportunity of procuring necessaries for the enfuing week, when they came together for the purposes of religion; and possibly in hopes that the churches would be better frequented on that account. But it was found that this unnatural mixture of fecular and religious affairs was attended with manifold inconveniences, and very hurtful to the interests of religion; and therefore many laws were made against holding markets WWW. 19

markets on Sundays 16. It feems, however, to have been very difficult to change this custom, which had been long established, and was agreeable to many; for these laws were often repeated, and enforced by fevere fines, besides the forfeiture of all the goods exposed to fale. At length, though these weekly markets were still kept near churches, the day was changed from Sunday to Saturday, that those who came from a distance might have an opportunity of attending divine fervice on the day after, if they pleafed. This was a confideration of importance, when churches, being few, were at a great distance from each other. Besides these weekly markets, there were greater commercial meetings held at certain places, on fixed days of the year; which being well known, were much frequented. Thefe too had a very intimate connection with religion, being always held near fome cathedral church or monastery, on the anniversary of the dedication of the church, or on the festival of the saint to whom it was dedicated; which happened in this manner. When bishops and abbots observed that great multitudes of people came from all places to celebrate the festivals of their patron faints, they applied to the crown for charters to hold fairs at those times, for the accommodation of strangers, and with a view to increase their own revenues by the tolls which their charters authorised them to levy at those fairs 17. This

<sup>16</sup> Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 377. 404. 450. 500. 518, &c. 17 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. Differtat. 30. p. 862.

contributed also to increase the crowds at these festivals, some attending them with religious, and others with commercial views; and the greater these crowds were, it was thought the more honourable for the faint, and was certainly the more profitable for the clergy. Many precautions were taken to preserve good order, and prevent theft and cheating, in thefe ecclefiaftical fairs, some of them not a little fingular. For example, when a fair was held within the precincts of a cathedral or monastery, it was not uncommon to oblige every man to take an oath at the gate before he was admitted, that he would neither lie, nor fteal, nor cheat, while he continued in the fair 18; an oath which we may prefume was not always firictly kept! Thefe customs, so different from our own, may appear to us ridiculous; but they were very artful contrivances of the clergy of those times, for raising the reputation and increasing the revenues of their respective churches; and also profitable to the public, by promoting commerce. Many of these ecclesiastical fairs (as they may not improperly be called) are still kept in all Popish countries; and many of our own are still held on the fame faint's days to whose honour they were originally instituted.

Establishment of the English mo-

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The establishment of the English monarchy, by the reduction of all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, one after another, under the domi-

<sup>18</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 2. Differtat. 30. p.882.

spain.

nion of one fovereign, was an event highly fa- narchy favourable both to the internal and foreign trade trade. of England. It was favourable to internal trade. by putting a period to those internal wars which almost constantly raged between the petty states of the heptarchy, and by rendering the communication between the feveral parts of England more fecure and free. It was favourable to foreign commerce, by making the English monarchy a greater object to foreign merchants, and the English monarchs of greater consideration in foreign countries. Not long after the establishment of the monarchy, alliances and intermarriages took place between the royal families on the continent and the royal family of England; which opened a more free communication between this kingdom and the dominions of foreign princes. Edward the Elder, who was one of the first English monarchs, had four daughters married to the four greatest princes then in Europe; and on occasion of these marriages. many curious things were brought into England, where they had never before been feen, and other things were fent out in return; which gave rife to commercial intercourfe. 19

The establishment of the English monarchy Invasions would have been still more beneficial to trade, of the Danes if the advantages of it had not been balanced hurtful to by the piracies of the Danes, and their descents upon the coasts of England, which began about

the fame time. These ferocious freebooters, who had never been heard of in England till near the end of the eighth century, became fo formidable in the ninth, that they covered the narrow feas with their piratical fleets, and kept all the coafts in continual alarms with their invafions, which were as fudden as they were deftructive. In this period, therefore, when the Danish and Norwegian fleets rode triumphant at fea, and feized every merchant-ship that fell in their way, and when their crews landed when and where they pleafed, and plundered the coafts and fea-ports. there could be little foreign trade in England. This was the flate of things from A.D. 787., when the first fleet of Danish pirates plundered the coasts of England, to A.D. 875., when Alfred the Great obtained the first naval victory over those destructive rovers 20. In this unhappy interval, the fatal confequences of the long and imprudent neglect of maritime affairs were feverely felt by the English; who thereby not only loft all the advantages of foreign trade, but fuffered innumerable infults and calamities from their cruel invaders. Sometimes, indeed, they defeated the Danes on shore, and obliged them to fly to their ships; but during that space of eighty-eight years, they were never able to look them in the face at fea; which rendered their victories by land of little value. For whenever the Danes met with a vigorous refistance in one

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place, they retired to their ships, and flew like lightning to another, where the people were not fo well prepared for their reception, and there took ample revenge for their former repulse.

There can be no question, that the first Eng. Naval lish monarchs, Egbert, Ethelwulph, and his three power and foreign eldest fons, who were all cruelly harassed by the trade of continual invasions of the Danes, were very fen- England restored by fible of the difadvantages they laboured under, Alfred the for want of a sufficient fleet to meet their ene- Great. mies at fea, and prevent their landing; and that they were earnestly desirous of supplying that defect. But there is nothing in the world more difficult, than to restore a naval power when it is fallen into decay, in a country where there is little foreign trade, to furnish ships, and to be a nurfery for feamen; and in the face of enemies who are mafters of the fea. To an ordinary genius, this must appear impracticable. What admiration then is justly due to that extraordinary prince, who not only attempted, but accomplished, that difficult undertaking; who raised a mighty naval power almost out of nothing, revived foreign trade, and wrested the dominion of the feas out of the hands of the infulting Danes? This was the great Alfred, who prefents himself in so many amiable points of view, to one who studies the Anglo-Saxon history, that it is impossible not to contract the fondest and most enthusiastic admiration of his character. It is much to be lamented, that we have fuch imperfect accounts of the means by which this great prince VOL. IV.

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Book II.

prince accomplished the many wonders of his reign, and particularly of the methods by which he reftored the naval power and foreign trade of England, when they were both annihilated. The few historians of those times were wretched monks, who knew little of these matters, and thought it fufficient to register in their meagre chronicles, that fuch and fuch things were done, without acquainting us with the means by which they were accomplished. We must try, however, to make the best of the few imperfect hints which they have left us, and endeavour to fet this important part of the naval and commercial hiftory of England in as clear a light as possible. Transport of gapen page applicati

Naval hiftory of Alfred.

prince

Nothing can more fully demonstrate the low state of the shipping and trade of England at the accession of Alfred to the crown, than the seebleness of the first sleet with which he encountered his enemies at sea. After four years preparation, he got together sive or six small vessels, with which he put to sea in person A.D. 875.; and meeting with six sail of Danish pirates, he boldly attacked them, took one, and put the rest to slight 21: a victory which, though small in itself, probably gave him no little joy, as it was gained on an element to which the Anglo-Saxons had long been strangers. His missortunes at land, which threatened the total ruin of himself and kingdom, obliged him to suspend

the profecution of his defign of raifing a naval power for fome time. But no fooner had he retrieved his affairs by the great victory which he obtained over the Danes at Eddington, A.D. 878., than he refumed his former scheme, and purfued it with redoubled ardour: and the means he employed to accomplish it were equally humane and wife. Instead of fatisfying his revenge, by putting the remains of the Danish army to the fword when they were in his power, he granted them an honourable capitulation, perfunded their leaders to become Christians, assigned them lands in East-Anglia and Northumberland, and made it their interest to defend that country which they came to plunder 22. With the affistance of these Danes, who had many ships, and were excellent failors, he fitted out a powerful fleet, which Afferius tells us, he manned with pirates, which was the name then commonly given to the Danes by all the other nations of Europe; and with this fleet he fought many battles against other Danish fleets with various success23. There can be no doubt, that this wife prince put many of his own natural subjects on board that fleet, both to learn the arts of navigating and fighting fhips, and to fecure the fidelity of the Danes; of which he had good reason to be suspicious. Still further to increase the number of his seamen, he invited all foreigners, particularly the people of Old Saxony and Friefland, to enter

22 W. Malmf. 1. 2. c.4.

23 Affer. p. 9.

into his service, and gave them every possible encouragement <sup>24</sup>. As he well knew that a flourishing foreign trade was the best nursery for seamen, and of great advantage to the kingdom, he excited his subjects to embark in it by various means, as particularly by lending them money and ships, and by others that will be hereafter mentioned <sup>25</sup>. By these, and probably by other methods which have not come to our knowledge, Alfred raised so great a naval power in a few years, that he was able to secure the coasts of his kingdom, and protect the trade of his subjects.

Voyages for making discoveries.

In the midft of all thefe, and many other cares, Alfred encouraged foreigners that were in his fervice, and fome of his own fubiects, to undertake voyages for making difcoveries, and opening new fources of trade, both towards the north and fouth; of which it will be proper to give fome account. There is ftill extant a very curious relation of one of these voyages undertaken by one Ochter, a Norwegian. This relation was given by the adventurer himself at his return, and written down from his mouth by King Alfred with his own hand. The ftyle of this precious fragment of antiquity is remarkably fimple, and it feems to have been defigned only as a memorandum for the King's own private use. This fimplicity of ftyle is imitated in the following

<sup>24</sup> Affer. p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson's History of Commerce, t.1. p.44.

translation, from the original Saxon, of that part of it which it is thought necessary to lay before the reader.

" Ochter informed his lord Alfred the King, Ochter's "that his habitation was to the north of all the voyage.

" other Normans, in that country which is " washed on the north by the western ocean. " He faid, that country stretched very far to-" wards the north, and was quite destitute of " inhabitants, except a few Finnians, who lived " in the winter by hunting, and in the fummer " by fishing. He added, that he had conceived " a strong desire to examine how far that coun-" try extended towards the north, and whether " any people refided beyond that defert; and " with these views had failed directly northward, " keeping the defert land on his right hand, and "the open fea on the left, for three days, when " he was as far north as the whale-fishers used to "go. After that he failed other three days in "the fame courfe, when he found the land " make a turn towards the east; but whether "this was a great bay or not he could not cer-" tainly tell; this he knew, that he waited there " fome time for a north-west wind; by which " he failed eastward four days near the shore. "Here again he waited for a north wind, be-" cause the land turned directly southward, or " the fea run into the land that way, he knew " not which; but he failed fouthward as far as " he could fail in five days close by the coast, " when he came to the mouth of a great river, ell a " which P 3

"which run up far into the land. In this place
he put an end to his voyage, not daring to
fail up that river, because the country was well
inhabited on one side of it. This, he said,
was the only well peopled country he had met
with after he had left his own home. For
during the whole voyage, the land on his
right hand was all a desert, having in it only
right hand was all a desert, having in it only
how were all Finnians; on his left hand all
was open sea.

Continued.

"He faid further, That the Bearms told him, 
their country was well inhabited; but he 
durft not go on shore. The land of the Tirfinnians was almost a defert, being inhabited 
only by a few sishers, hawkers, and hunters. 
The Bearms, he said, told him many things 
both about their own country and the neighbouring countries; but whether these things 
were true or not, he could not tell, because 
he had not seen them himself. He thought 
the Finnians and the Bearms spoke nearly the

Continued.

"fame language.
"He faid he vifited these parts also with a
"view of catching horse-whales, which had
bones of very great value for their teeth; of
which he brought some to the King; that their
skins were good for making ropes for ships.
These whales are much less than other whales,
being only five ells long. The best whales
were catched in his own country, of which

" fome were forty eight, fome fifty yards long.
" He

" He faid; that he was one of fix who had killed

" fixty in two days.

" Ochter was a man rich in those things which Ochter's " were there esteemed riches, viz. wild animals.

"He had, when he came to the King, fix hun-

" dred rein-deer, all unbought. Among these

" were fix of a kind which the Finnians value

" very highly, because with them they catch

" wild deer. He was one of the greatest men

" in that land, and yet he had only twenty

" cows, twenty sheep, and twenty swine. The

" little land that he ploughed, he ploughed with

" horses. His chief revenues confisted in the

" tributes which the Finnians or Laplanders

" paid him; which were composed of deer-skins,

" and birds feathers, and the bones of whales,

" and ship ropes made of whales skins and seals

" fkins. Every man pays according to his cir-

" cumftances; the richest commonly paying fif-

"teen martins skins, five of rein-deers, one of

" bears, ten bushels of feathers, one kirtle of

" bears fkins or otters fkins, two ship-ropes,

" each fixty yards long, the one made of whales

" Ikins, and the other of feals ikins." 26

The rest of this fragment contains a descrip- Observation of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, which tions on this adventurous navigator had vifited at the de-vovage. fire of King Alfred; but must be omitted for the fake of brevity. The river where Ochter terminated his voyage, and from whence he re-

turned, must have been the Dwina, on the banks of which Archangel was long after built. The Bearms, with whom Ochter conversed, were the inhabitants of the country anciently called Bearmland, thought by fome to be the country now called Melepadia, Ingermania, &c., but more probably the country on the eastern banks of the Dwina. How many reflections will this short fragment fuggest to every intelligent reader! and how much must be admire the genius of this great prince, who gained a more perfect knowledge of those northern seas and lands, in that early period, when the art of navigation was fo imperfect, than any other Englishman acquired for more than fix hundred and fifty years after his death! For captain Richard Chancellar was the first European navigator who discovered the White fea and the river Dwina, A.D. 1553., from the age of King Alfred 27. Ochter, who performed this dangerous voyage, was probably one of those Norwegian princes who were expelled their country about A.D. 870. by that great northern conqueror Harold Harfager, who reduced all Norway under his obedience.

Wulfstan's voyage.

There is also extant a short journal of another voyage, written by King Alfred from the mouth of one Wulfstan, an Anglo-Saxon, whom he had sent to explore the coasts of the Baltic, and the several countries that are washed by that sea; of which it may be proper to translate a part.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 386.

"Wulfstan faid, that he failed from Haethby " (now Slefwic), and in five days and five nights " continual failing arrived at Trufo. Weonad-" land was on his right hand; on his left was " Langaland, Zealand, Falfter, and Sconen. " All these countries belong to Denmark. Af-" terwards Burgendaland (perhaps Bornholm) " was on the left hand, which hath a king of " its own. After Burgendaland, was the coun-" try which is called Blekinga, and Meora (per-" haps Morby), and Ocland, and Gothland, on "the left hand, which belong to the Sweons " (Swedes); and Weonadland (fo he calls the " whole coast of Germany washed by the Bal-"tic) was always on the right hand to the " mouth of the river Wisle (the Vistula). The "Wifle is a very great river, on which are Wit-" land and Weonadland. Witland belongeth " to the Esteons. The Wisle hath its source in "Weonadland, and flows into the lake Eft-" mere, which is fifteen miles broad. Then " cometh the Ilfing from the east into Estmere, " on the bank of which Truso standeth. Both " the Ilfing and the Wifle flow into the lake " Estmere, the former from the east out of " Eaftlandia, the latter from the west out of "Weonadland. Then the Ilfing lofeth its name, " and falleth out of the lake into the fea, by a " north-west course, at a place called Wistemouth. " The Eaftland is very extensive, and hath many " towns, and in every town a king. It abounds " in honey and fish. The kings and rich men " drink

"drink mares milk," &c. The remainder of this fragment contains a very curious account of the manners and customs of the people of Eastland (now Poland), and in particular of the ceremonies at their funerals, which are fingular enough; but too long, and too foreign to our present subject, to be here inserted.<sup>23</sup>

Deligns of Alfred unknown. It is impossible to discover, at this distance of time, whether Alfred's views in being at so much pains to gain a perfect knowledge of the seas and coasts of Scandinavia, were purely commercial; or whether he had not formed in his own mind the design of a military expedition into those countries, to retaliate on their restless inhabitants some of the injuries which they had so long inflicted on the English, and the other nations of Europe, almost with impunity. It would require a genius equal to Alfred's to conceive the great designs which he had formed, and of which his early death prevented the execution.

Alfred's discoveries in the east. This extraordinary prince did not confine his refearches after the knowledge of distant countries to the cold uncomfortable regions of the north, though their inhabitants made then a more confpicuous figure than they do at prefent; but he was at equal pains to open a communication with the warmer climes of Asia: though our accounts of his efforts to this purpose are quite unsatisfactory. We know indeed

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that there were fuch efforts made; but are left to guess how they were conducted. He kept a correspondence with Abel Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose letters to Alfred, Asserius, his friend and confident, tells us, he had feen and read 29. From this prelate he no doubt received many valuable communications concerning the state of feveral countries of the east; and it was probably from him that he had intelligence of the Christians of St. Thomas settled at Meliapour, on the Coromandel coast in the Hither India, and of their diffressful circumstances. In whatever manner he received this information, he conceived the generous refolution of fending relief to those Christians, so far disjoined from all the rest of the Christian world; and at the same time of gaining some knowledge of those remote regions. To execute this refolution, he made choice of an Anglo-Saxon prieft, named Sighelm; and he feems to have been very happy in his choice. "Sighelm (fays the best of our an-" cient historians) was fent beyond sea with the "King's charity to the Christians of St. Thomas " in India, and executed that commission with " wonderful good fortune; which is still the " fubject of universal admiration. For he really " penetrated into India, and returning from "thence, brought with him jewels of a new is kind, with which that country very much " abounds. Some of these jewels may still be

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<sup>29</sup> Asser. de Rebus gestis Ælfredi, p. 17.

" feen among the treasures of the church of " Shereburn, of which Sighelm was made bi-" shop, after his return from India 30." What course this adventurous priest pursued in executing this difficult commission, we are not informed; only we are told, that he went first to Rome; which makes it highly probable, that he embarked on board fome Venetian ship for Alexandria in Egypt. For the Venetians carried on a trade with Alexandria from the very beginning of the ninth century, if not before 31. From Alexandria Sighelm might travel over land to some port on the western shore of the Red fea, where he might again embark, and failing down that fea, and paffing the ftreights of Babelmandel, he might cross the Arabian sea to the coast of Malabar; and failing along that coaft, and doubling the cape, he would foon arrive at the place of his deftination. This, however, is given only as conjecture, and not as hiftory. There can be no doubt, that Sighelm gave an ample relation of his travels to his royal mafter at his return; and if that had been preserved, it would now have been esteemed more valuable than all the jewels he brought from India. Soils de la la revinu lo Roidut

The art of shipbuilding improved by Alfred.

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Befides these attempts to discover unknown seas and countries, and thereby open new sources of trade, Alfred promoted commerce in several

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<sup>30</sup> W. Malmf. de Gestis Pontific. Anglor. 1.2. p. 141.

<sup>31</sup> Murator. Antiquitat. t. 2. p. 883.

other ways. He introduced new manufactures, which furnished many things for exportation, as well as for home confumption. He repaired the fea-ports, and particularly the city of London, the favourite feat of commerce in this island, which had been ruined by the Danes 32. But the chief means by which he promoted foreign commerce was the great improvements which he made, by his inventive genius, in the art of fhip-building. The ships used by the Danes, Saxons, and all the other nations of Europe at that time, were called keels or cogs; and were of a very clumfy form, thort, broad, and low; which made them very flow failers, and very hard to work 33. Alfred observing these defects, gave directions to his workmen for building ships of a very different conftruction; which are thus described in the Saxon Chronicle, the most authentic monument of those times, from which all our fubfequent historians have borrowed their accounts: "The fame year (897.) the Danish " pirates of Northumberland, and of East-" Anglia, plundered the coast of Wessex in a " very grievous manner, especially towards the " fouth. They did this in ships that had been " built long before in the ancient form. Alfred, " to oppose these, commanded ships to be built " of a new construction. They were about " twice the length of the former, and much " more lofty; which made them much fwifter

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<sup>22</sup> Affer. de Rebus gestis Ælfredi, p.15.

<sup>33</sup> W. Malmf. l. 1. c. 1.

" failers, more fleady in the water, and not fo " apt to roll. Some of these new vessels had " fixty oars, and fome even more 34." From this description, short and imperfect as it is, we may perceive that this was a great improvement in naval architecture; and that the ships of this new construction were not only more beautiful, but also more commodious, either for war or commerce, than the former. By their length and sharpness, they ploughed the sea with greater eafe and celerity. By their altitude, when employed in commerce, they fecured both men and goods more effectually from the waves; and when engaged in war, for which they were first invented, they were more difficult to board, and gave the combatants the great advantage of throwing their weapons from above on those below them. They appear to have been a kind of gallies, or galliots, navigated with oars as well as fails, that they might profecute their voyage, or purfue their enemies, in a calm as well as on a wind. Of the fize, capacity, and burden of these ships, we can say nothing with certainty, but that they required fixty or feventy failors to navigate them; which is a fufficient evidence that they were not very fmall. 35

The mayal power and trade of England

By these and the like means, this extraordinary prince raised the naval power and foreign commerce of England, from that state of annihila-

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<sup>34</sup> Chron. Saxon. p.98.

<sup>35</sup> See Spelman's Life of Alfred, p.50, 5x. Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol.x. p.53.

tion in which he found them at the beginning of greatly inhis reign; and before the end of it, rendered creafed by Alfred. them both much greater than ever they had been in any former period of the Saxon government. That the naval power of England was greater in his time than ever it had been before, is evident from the many victories which he obtained over the Danes at fea, who till then had been confidered as invincible on that element. That the foreign commerce of England was also greater, is no less evident from the superior splendour of his court and the greater quantities of cash, and of foreign commodities, that were then in England; fome of them the produce of very diffant countries, which could only be procured by commerce 36. We have already heard of the precious stones brought from India; and Asserius tells us, that one morning, after Alfred had made him a grant of two abbeys, with all their furniture, he gave him a present of a very fine filk cloak, and of as much frankincense as a ftrong man could carry, accompanied with this obliging expression,-" That these were but " trifles in comparison of what he designed to " give him 37." This is a fufficient proof that Alfred was poffeffed of confiderable quantities of the most precious productions of the East, the happy effects of a flourishing trade.

As England had gained more by the life, fo it The trade fuffered more by the death of Alfred, than by of England hurt

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<sup>36</sup> Clarke on Coins, p. 290. n.

<sup>3</sup> Asser. de Rebus gestis Ælfredi, p. 15.

by the death of Alfred.

that of any other prince that had ever filled the throne; because many great defigns which he had formed for advancing the prosperity of his kingdom, and the felicity of his fubjects, perished with him. If this prince performed fo much in the midst of the tumults of war, what would he not have accomplished if his life had been prolonged, after he had triumphed over all his enemies, and brought his kingdom into a state of perfect order and tranquillity? It was, however, fo far happy, that fome degree of the genius of Alfred descended to his son Edward, and his grandfon Athelftan, who were educated under his eye, to fay nothing of his daughter Ethelfleda Countess of Mercia, who inherited a still greater portion of her father's spirit.

History of trade in the reign of Edward the Elder. Edward the Elder, who mounted the throne in the first year of the tenth century, influenced by the precepts and example of his illustrious father, gave proper attention to the naval power and commerce of his kingdom. For though he was chiefly engaged, during his whole reign, in reducing the turbulent Danes of East-Anglia and Northumberland to a more perfect subjection, and in fortifying many towns and castles for the internal security of the country, he constantly kept up a sleet of a hundred ships, with which he protected the trade of his subjects, and maintained the dominion of the sea. 33

Athelftan, the eldeft fon and successor of Ed- Trade ward, was at much greater pains to increase the promoted naval power and commerce of England than his Athelstan. father had been. This wife prince, fenfible of the great advantages of foreign trade, encouraged his subjects to engage in it, by making it the road to honour as well as wealth. For by one of his laws it was enacted, - " If a mariner or mer-" chant fo prosper as to make three voyages over " the high feas, with a ship and cargo of his " own, he shall be advanced to the honour and " dignity of a thane 39." This excellent law, which discovers an equal knowledge of human nature and of the true interest of England, must have been productive of very great effects, though the particulars are not preferved in the fcanty annals of those times. Athelstan, still further to facilitate and encourage commerce, established a mint, or mints, in every town in England that had any confiderable foreign trade, that the merchants might have an opportunity of converting the bullion that they brought home for their goods into current coin, without much expence Thefe towns were, London, Canor trouble. terbury, Winchester, Rochester, Exeter, Lewes, Haftings, Chichefter, Southampton, Werham, and Shaftesbury 40. These and other wife regulations excited fuch a spirit for trade, and so much increased the shipping and seamen of England, that Athelftan maintained the dominion of

the fea, and obliged the Danish and Norwegian princes to court his friendship. " All Europe " (fays William of Malmfbury) proclaimed his " praifes, and extolled his virtues to the fkies. " Happy did those foreign princes think them-" felves, and not without reason, who could " gain his friendship, either by presents or alli-" ances. Harold King of Norway fent him a " fine fhip with a gilded ftern and purple fails, " furrounded and defended on all fides with a " row of gilded shields "." Nothing but a flourishing foreign trade, and a powerful navy, could have made a King of England to be fo much respected and courted by the princes on the continent; especially in those times, when there were hardly any political connections between diffant nations.

History of trade and shipping in the reign of Edgar the Peaceable.

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Though nothing feems to have been done in the short reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwi, from A.D. 941. to A.D. 957., for the encouragement of commerce; yet the spirit that had been awakened continued to operate, and the naval power and trade of England to increase. This enabled Edgar the Peaceable, who succeeded his unfortunate brother Edwi, to raise a greater sleet, and make a more distinguished sigure at sea, than any of his predecessors. This prince, however, was so great a favourite of the monks, the only historians of those times, that every thing they say of him must be understood with caution;

and, in particular, their accounts of the number of his ships are perfectly incredible, some making them 3000, some 3600, and some no fewer than 400042. These numbers are so extravagant, that it feems most probable, that the transcribers have added a cypher, and thereby made them ten times the real number. Is it possible to imagine, that a King of England, in the infancy of foreign trade, had three hundred thousand seamen in his fervice? and yet fo many it would require to man a fleet of three thousand ships, allowing only one hundred men to each ship, which is certainly a very moderate computation. The above conjecture concerning the transcribers is the more probable, that one of our ancient historians makes the number of King Edgar's ships only three hundred 43. Even this was a great number, and shews the rapid increase of the English navy, from one hundred (the complement of it in the reign of Edward the Elder) to three hundred, in the short space of fifty years. This fleet King Edgar divided into three equal fquadrons; one of which he stationed on the east coast, another on the fouth, and the third on the north, for the protection of these coasts, and maintaining the dominion of the fea. What our historians further add concerning his failing round the whole island of Britain every summer in these fleets, and vifiting in perfon every creek and

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<sup>42</sup> Hoveden. p.426. Flor. Wigorn. p.607. Abbas Rieval. p.360. Brompt. 43 W.Thorn.

harbour, can hardly be strictly true 44. All that we can depend upon in this matter is, that by the gradual increase of trade, seamen, and shipping, Edgar had a greater fleet than any of his predeceffors; which he kept in excellent order, and with which he effectually protected the coafts of his kingdom and the commerce of his fubjects. This is all an English monarch ought to wish; and short of this he ought not to stop. Besides the protection and encouragement that Edgar the Peaceable gave to foreign trade, he made feveral laws for regulating the internal commerce of his subjects. By one of these laws it was enacted, "That all the money coined in " the kingdom should be of one kind; and that " no man should refuse it in payments; and that the measures used at Winchester should be " used over all the kingdom 45:" A wife regulation, which probably never took effect. By another law it was appointed, that thirty-three honest men should be chosen in large towns; and twelve in fmall towns, to be witnesses to all bargains within these towns; and that no man should either buy or fell any thing but before two or three of these sworn witnesses. When any member of a decennary or tithing went to a distant market, he was required, by another law, to acquaint the tithingman or burgholder what he defigned to buy or fell, and also to acquaint him at his return what he had bought or fold 46. All

<sup>44</sup> W. Malmf. 1.2. c.7.

of 1.2. c.7. 45 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Id. p.80, 81.

these, and several other troublesome restrictions of the same kind, designed to prevent frauds, and the fale of stolen goods, sifficiently shew, that commercial transactions were but few in comparison of what they are at present; and that little mutual confidence reigned among the members of fociety.

The minorities of the two fons of Edgar the History of Peaceable, and the weakness of Ethelred, the youngest of them, after he arrived at man's estate, in the were very fatal to the naval power, commerce, and prosperity of England; for those who had the Unthe direction of affairs under these princes, ob- ready. ferving the profound peace and fecurity that the kingdom enjoyed, occasioned by the vigour of the late government, imagined that a navy was become unnecessary, and suffered their ships to rot in their harbours. It was not long before their ancient enemies the Danes received intelligence, and took advantage of this fatal error. At first, indeed, those destructive rovers approached the coasts of England with a kind of dread and diffidence, as afraid to rouse a sleeping lion; but finding the defenceless state of thefe coafts, they boldly poured upon them on all fides, and spread defolation and mifery from one end of the kingdom to the other. It is as unnecessary as it would be unpleasant, to give a minute detail of all the defeats, difgraces, and miseries, which the English suffered in the long unhappy reign of Ethelred the Unready; which were chiefly owing to their neglect of maritime affairs, Q 3

trade and fhipping reign of Ethelred

affairs, and the want of a sufficient fleet to protect their trade and coasts, and maintain the dominion of the furrounding feas 47. After having often tried the shameful expedient of bribing their enemies, by great fums of money, to defift from their depredations; and finding that this, like throwing oil into a fire, instead of diminishing, increased their violence; they became sensible of their error in neglecting their fleet, the only impenetrable bulwark of their country. To correct this error, a law was made A. D. 1008, obliging the proprietors of every 310 hides of land to furnish a ship for the royal navy 48. In confequence of this law, a very great fleet was raifed of near eight hundred fhips; which, fays the Saxon Chronicle, was greater than any that had ever been feen in England in the reign of any former king 49. This is a fufficient proof, that the merchants and mariners of England, in the midst of all the miseries of their country, had not abandoned the fea, or neglected foreign trade; for fo great a fleet could not have been raifed by any but a commercial people. Of this there are fome other evidences. In this reign, feveral wife and humane laws were made for the fecurity of the perfons, ships, and effects of merchants, when they were driven into an English harbour by stress of weather, or were wrecked upon the coast; which show, that it was the intention of the legislators to encourage foreign

<sup>7</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 125—146. 48 Id. p. 136. 49 Id. ibid. trade.

trade 50. By other laws made in a great council, or wittenagemot, held at Wantage, the rates of the customs to be paid on the importation of various kinds of goods at the wharf of Billingfgate, in the port of London, were fettled 51. From these laws it also appears, that there was a fociety or company of German merchants, called the emperors men, then refiding in London, who were obliged to pay to the King for his protection, twice a-year (at Christmas and Easter), two pieces of gray cloth, and one piece of brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two calks of wine 52. This company was probably the same with that which was afterwards fo well known by the name of the Merchants of the Steelyard. There is still extant a kind of commercial treaty between King Ethelred and the Princes of Wales, by which a court was conflituted, confifting of fix English law-men and fix Welfh law-men (as they are called), who were to determine all disputes that should arise between the people of England and Wales. 32

Though the total subjection of the English to History of the Danes, A.D. 1017., was fatal to fome noble trade in the reign families, and involved the Anglo-Saxon princes of Canute in great diffress, it was, in some respects, falutary the Great to the kingdom, and particularly to its commerce, by putting an end to those bloody wars between

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<sup>50</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 104.

<sup>51</sup> Brompton, p.887. Anderson's Hist. Commerce, vol. 1. p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> Id. ibid. 53 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 125.

the two nations, which had raged about forty years with little intermission. Canute the Great, being a wife as well as a warlike prince, endeavoured to gain the affections of his English subjects, by affording them the most effectual protection, and every encouragement in his power54. He fent home to Denmark, as foon as he could do it with fafety, the greatest part of his Danish troops, that they might no longer be either a burden or terror to the English. He also dismissed all his fleet, except forty ships, which he retained for some time to protect the trade and coasts of England 55. He employed that influence which his high reputation, his extensive dominions, and his mighty power, gave him with foreign princes, in procuring favours and privileges from them for his trading fubjects. When he was at Rome A.D. 1031., he negociated a commercial treaty in person with the Emperor Conrad II. and Rodolph III. the last King of Arles; in which he obtained very extraordinary exemptions for the English merchants in the dominions of these princes. This we learn from his own letter which he fent from Rome to the nobility of England. "I spoke with the Emperor, the Pope, " and all the princes whom I found here, about " the grievances of my fubjects, English as well " as Danes; and infifted, that they should be " more favourably treated in time to come, and " not fo much vexed with tolls and exactions of

<sup>54</sup> W.Malmf. l.2. c.11.

<sup>55</sup> Chron. Saxon. p.151.

" various kinds in their dominions. The Em-" peror, King Rodolph, and the other princes, " complied with my remonstrances, and con-" fented, that all my subjects, merchants, as " well as those who travelled on a religious " account, should meet with no interruption, " but should be protected without paying any " toll 56." Under the auspices of this powerful prince, the trade of England flourished greatly, and the English merchants, especially those of London, acquired a degree of weight and influence in the public councils of the kingdom, formerly unknown. This appeared in a ftrong light, from the important part they acted in the very beginning of the next reign, as we learn from the best authority. "As soon as Canute " was dead, a great affembly of the nobility met " at Oxford, where were prefent Earl Leofric. " almost all the thanes to the north of the "Thames, and the feamen of London, who " chose Harold to be King of all England 57." These seamen of London, who were members of this wittenagemot, or great council, were probably fuch merchants of that city as had made three voyages beyond feas in ships of their own. and had thereby acquired a legal title to the dignity of thanes. The tranquillity that England enjoyed after the accession of the Danish princes was fo great, that the royal navy was reduced by Canute to fixteen ships; for the support of which

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an equitable and moderate tax was imposed; and on this footing it continued during all the remainder of his reign, and the whole reign of his fuccessor Harold. Each mariner on board this fleet was allowed eight mancusses, and each commander twelve mancusses, a-year, for pay and provisions; which was a very liberal allowance in those times 58. Hardicanute, the last of the Danish kings of England, kept a fleet of fixty ships, and gave his feamen the same generous allowance; which rendered the tax imposed for their support so heavy, that it became the occasion of much discontent and of fome tumults 59. The reftoration of the Saxon line to the crown of England, in the person of Edward the Confessor, made no material change in the naval power or commerce of the kingdom; which were both in a flourishing state at the conclusion of this period.

State of the shipping of England at the end of this period. It is quite impossible, at this distance of time, to discover the numbers or the tonnage of the ships belonging to England at the Norman conquest; but there is sufficient evidence that they were both considerable. To lay no stress on the exaggerated accounts of the prodigious sleets of Edgar the Peaceable, that of King Ethelred, which was raised after the English had suffered many losses both by sea and land, consisted of near eight hundred ships; besides which, there

<sup>58</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 155. Flor. Wigorn. p. 623.

<sup>59</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. C. 12.

were, no doubt, many employed in trade at the fame time. After this, the shipping of England continued to increase to the very conclusion of this period, when it is not improbable they might amount to two or three thousand veffels, from twenty to one hundred tons. From the representation of many of these ships in the famous tapeftry of Bayeux, it appears, that they were a kind of gallies with one mast, on which was foread one very large fail, by means of a yard raifed to near the top of it with pullies. Their shape was not inelegant, their stems adorned with the heads of men, lions, or other animals, which (if we may believe historians) were sometimes gilded 60. Though the following description of the ships of that great fleet, with which King Canute invaded England, is evidently too poetical to be strictly true, yet as it was composed by a cotemporary writer, who was probably an eye-witnefs of what he describes, it merits fome attention: "So great was the splendour and " beauty of the ships of his mighty fleet, that " they dazzled the eyes, and ftruck terror into " the hearts of the beholders: for the rays of " the fun reflected from the bright shields and " polished arms of the foldiers, and the fides of " the fhips gilded with gold and filver, exhibited a spectacle equally terrible and magni-" ficent. On the top of the mast of every ship " was the gilded figure of some bird, which,

" turning

<sup>60</sup> Montfauçon Monumens Françoises, t.1. p.376. Memoires de l'Academie Royale, l.12.

" turning on a spindle with the winds, disco-" vered from whence they blew. The stems of "the ships were adorned with various figures " caft in metal, and gilded with gold and filver. "On one you might behold the ftatue of a man, " with a countenance as fierce and menacing as " if he had been alive; on another a most ter-" rible golden lion; on a third a dragon of " burnished brass; and on a fourth a furious " bull with gilded horns, in act to rush on the " terrified spectators. In a word, the appearance of this fleet was at once fo grand and " formidable, that it filled all who faw it with "dread and admiration of the prince to whom "it belonged; and his enemies were more than " half vanquished by their eyes, before they " came to blows "." If we could depend on the truth of this description, we should be inclined to think, that the Danes and Saxons had made much greater progrefs in feveral arts than is commonly imagined.

English exports in this period.

Though the merchant ships in this period were very small and trisling in comparison of those at present used in foreign trade, they were sufficient to export and import considerable quantities of goods. But of those exports and imports we are not able to add much to the account contained in the second volume of this work, to which we refer the reader. 62

<sup>61</sup> Encomium Emmæ, apud Duchen, p. 166.

Vol.2. c.6. p.202-205. 218-228.

Slaves still continued to form one of the most Slaves. valuable articles of exportation from England in this period; and great numbers of unhappy men, women, and children, were carried out of this ifland, and, like cattle, exposed to fale in all the markets of Europe. It was the fight of a number of English flaves exposed in this manner in the market at Rome, that inspired Gregory the Great with the resolution of attempting the conversion of their countrymen to Christianity. " As Gregory was one day paffing through "the market-place, foon after a company of fo-" reign merchants had arrived, and fet out the " various kinds of goods which they had brought " to fell, he observed a number of young men, " of fair complexions, fine air, and beautiful " faces, exposed to fale. Being struck with their " appearance, he inquired from what country "they came; and was told, that they come " from the Isle of Britain, and the kingdom of "Deira. He then asked whether the inha-" bitants of that country were Christians or " Pagans? and being answered that they were " Pagans, he broke out into this exclamation,— " Wo is me, that men, so amiable in their ex-" ternal appearance, should be destitute of the " grace of God in their fouls!' and immediately " applied to the Pope (for it was before he was " Pope himself), and earnestly intreated him to " fend missionaries into England, to attempt the conversion of that country to Christianity 63."

The mildest fate that those unhappy persons could expect, who were taken prisoners in the long wars between the Saxons and Britons, between the feveral kingdoms of the heptarchy, and between the English and Danes, was to be fold as flaves; which furnished a constant and plentiful fupply to those merchants who were engaged in this difgraceful traffic. Many of these flave-merchants were Jews, who found a good market for their Christian slaves among the Saracens in Spain and Africa 64. This occasioned feveral laws and canons of the church to be made in England, and other countries, against felling Christian slaves to Jews or Pagans. 65

Examples trade.

The exportation of flaves from fome parts of of the flave England continued to the very end of this period. "Some young men (fays William of " Malmfbury) were exported from Northum-" berland to be fold, according to a custom which feems to be natural to the people of "that country, of felling their nearest relations " for their own advantage: a custom which we "fee them practife even in our own days 66." The people of Bristol seem to have been no less addicted to this ignominious branch of trade; of which we have the following curious account in the life of Wulfstan, who was Bishop of Worcefter at the Norman conquest. "There is a " fea-port town called Bristol, opposite to Ire-"land, into which its inhabitants make fre-

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<sup>64</sup> Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 883.

<sup>66</sup> W.Malmf. l. r. c. 3. 65 Johnston's Canons, A.D. 740.

" quent voyages on account of trade. Wulf-" ftan cured the people of this town of a most " odious and inveterate custom, which they de-" rived from their ancestors, of buying men and " women in all parts of England, and export-"ing them to Ireland for the fake of gain. "The young women they commonly got with " child, and carried them to market in their " pregnancy, that they might bring a better " price. You might have feen, with forrow, " long ranks of young perfons of both fexes and of the greatest beauty, tied together with " ropes, and daily exposed to fale: nor were " these men ashamed, O horrid wickedness! to " give up their nearest relations, nay their own " children, to flavery. Wulfstan, knowing the " obstinacy of these people, sometimes stayed "two months amongst them, preaching every " Lord's day; by which, in process of time, he " made fo great an impression upon their minds, " that they abandoned that wicked trade, and " fet an example to all the rest of England to "do the fame." 67

English horses, which were universally ad- Horses, mired, made another valuable article of the exports of this period; but the following law of King Athelftan's probably gave fome check to that branch of trade: "No man shall export " any horses beyond seas, except such as he " defigns to give in prefents 68." We have no

Anglia Sacra, t.2. p. 258. Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 52. direct

direct evidence that corn was exported from England in this period, as it had been from provincial Britain in the Roman times; and when we reflect on the imperfect state of agriculture among the Anglo Saxons, we shall be inclined to think, that it was not, or at least not with any constancy, or in any considerable quantities.

Imports.

Our information concerning the different kinds of goods imported into England in this period (befides those mentioned in the fecond volume of this work), is also very imperfect. Books, especially on religious subjects, and for the use of churches, made no inconfiderable article of importation, as they bore a very high price, were much wanted, and much defired 69. The relics, pictures, and images of faints, which were objects of great veneration in those dark ages, were imported in great quantities, and at a great expence; as also vestments for the clergy, veils, altar-cloths, filver veffels for the celebration of the facraments, and, in a word, all the different utenfils and ornaments of churches. This facred traffic was chiefly managed by priefts, who were believed to be the best judges of those commodities, some of which had little or no intrinsic value. The famous Benedict Biscop, founder of the monastery of Weremouth, made several voyages in this trade, and brought home valuable cargoes of books, relics, pictures, statues, vessels, vestments, &c. which he had purchased

in France and Italy. He furnished and adorned his own monastery with some of these goods, and fold the rest to very great advantage 70. It was the constant practice of the founders of churches and monasteries, and of all other English prelates, who vifited foreign countries, to collect and import those kinds of merchandise for the use of their own and other churches; and he who brought home the greatest quantity of relics, made the most profitable voyage, and was esteemed the greatest faint. When the city of Venice first, and afterwards the cities of Pifa and Amalphi, became the repositories of the precious productions and manufactures of the East, these cities were vifited by English merchants, who imported from thence precious stones, gold, filver, filk, linen, spiceries, drugs, and other kinds of goods 71. It was to these cities of Italy that those voyages were made which raised the perfons who made them to the dignity of thanes. Wines were imported from Spain and France, cloths from Germany and Flanders, and furs deer-skins, whale oil, ropes, &c. &c. from Scandinavia 72. It is unnecessary to make this enumeration more complete, as it fufficiently appears already, "that the foreign trade of " England was fo extensive, even in this remote " period, as to furnish such of her inhabitants

71 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 883.

<sup>7</sup>º Bedæ Hift. Abbat. Weremuth. paffim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Anderson's Hist. Comm. vol.1. p.52. Vita Ælfridi, Append.6.

" as could afford to pay for them, with a share of all the commodities that were then known in any part of Europe."

Balance of trade in favour of England.

As we have no means of discovering the quantities of the goods exported and imported in this period, it is quite impossible to find out how the balance of trade flood between England and any foreign country. We have good reason, however, to believe, that upon the whole the balance was in favour of England; and that her foreign trade was really profitable, by bringing home cash or bullion for the increase of the national treasures, as well as goods for confumption. If this had not been the case, it would have been impossible for England without mines of gold or filver, to have supplied the great losses of cash which she sustained, - by the depredations and exactions of the Danes,by the tax of Peter-pence paid annually to Rome, — and by the many expensive journies of her princes, prelates, and nobles, into foreign countries. These continual drains, for which no returns were made, must have carried off all the money in the kingdom long before the end of this period, if fresh supplies had not been brought home by trade. But there is a still stronger proof of this, arising from the considerable quantities of foreign coins, particularly gold coins, that were current in England in this period; which were no doubt brought home by the merchants as the balance of trade in favour of this country. These coins were so plentiful.

ful, that almost all great payments for estates, donations to churches, and valuable legacies, were made in them 73. The confiderable quantities of gold and filver that were made into plate, jewels, and trinkets of various kinds, afford a further evidence of the truth of what is above advanced 74. Befides, it is believed, that the quantity of money in England of our own coining gradually increased in the course of this period; which is one of the best evidences of a profitable foreign trade.

To prevent that confusion which is apt to arise History of from blending several subjects together, little hath yet been faid of coin or money, the great instrument of commerce, and one of the happiest of human inventions.

Before we proceed to give the history of Living money made of gold, filver, or other metals, it money. may be proper to take fome notice of a fingular kind of money, which is often mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon monuments of this period, by the name of living money 75. This confifted of flaves, and cattle of all kinds, which had a certain value fet upon them by law, at which they paffed current in the payment of debts and the purchase of commodities of all kinds, and supplied the deficiency of money properly fo called. Thus for example, when one person owed another a certain fum of money, which he had not a fuffi-

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<sup>73</sup> See Clarke on Coins, p. 273.

<sup>75</sup> Hift. Elienf. apud Gale, l. 1. c. 10.

cient quantity of coin to pay, he supplied that deficiency by giving a certain number of flaves, horses, cows, or sheep, at the rate set upon them by law when they passed for money, to make up the fum 76. It was also very common in those times, when one man purchased an estate from another, to purchase all the living money upon it at the same time; i.e. to take all the slaves, horses, and other animals upon it, at the rate stamped upon them by law when they were confidered as money 17. All kinds of mulcts imposed by the flate, or penances by the church, might have been paid either in dead or living money, as was most convenient; with this fingle exception, that the church, defigning to difcourage flavery, refused to accept of flaves as money in the payment of penances 78. In those parts of Britain where coins were very scarce. almost all debts were paid, and purchases made, with living money. This was fo much the cafe, both in Scotland and Wales, that it hath been very much doubted, whether there were any coins struck in either of those countries in this period 79. This much at least is certain, that no coins of any of the Scotch or Welsh princes who flourished in this period have been found: a fufficient proof, that if there ever were any fuch coins, they were very fcarce. To fupply this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Hift. Elienf. apud Gale, l. r. c. 23. <sup>77</sup> Id. ibid. c. rr.

<sup>78</sup> Johnson's Canons, A.D. 877. Can.7.

<sup>79</sup> Andersoni Diplomata Scotiæ, præfat. p.57. Camden's Remains, p.181.

defect, an exact value was fet upon all animals by law, according to which they were to be received in all payments, and by which they became living money 80. This feems to have been a kind of imtermediate step between mere barter, and the univerfal use of coin.

It is now time to enter upon a fhort deduction History of of the state of coin in Great Britain, its weights, coin. denominations, and other circumstances, from the beginning to the end of this period: an intricate perplexing subject, in which, after all the labours of many learned and ingenious men, fome things are dark and doubtful, and on which it is no shame to fail of giving entire satisfaction.

It hath been already proved, that provincial State of Britain was very rich in money in the flourishing coin from times of the Roman government, and that much partner of of it was carried away by the Romans at their the Rodeparture 31. But though this was true, it is the effaprobable, or rather certain, that confiderable fums of Roman money were left behind, in the Saxons, hands of the provincial Britons, and of those Romans who chose to remain in Britain, rather than abandon their houses and estates. made provincial Britain, after all the loffes it had fustained by the departure of the Romans, and the depredations of the Scots and Picts, a valuable prize, on account of its cash, as well

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<sup>80</sup> Vide Leges Wallicæ, l.3. c.5. p.230-257.

<sup>81</sup> See vol. 2. p. 258.

as of the verdure of its plains; and the former had probably as great charms in the eyes of the Saxons as the latter. For those adventurers, at their arrival in this island, were far from being ignorant of the use, or indifferent about the possession, of money; on the contrary, the acquifition of it had been one of the chief objects of those piratical expeditions to which they had been long accustomed 82. As foon as they began to quarrel with the Britons, they feized their cash, as well as their lands and goods, converted it to their own use, and employed it in commerce. The current coin of England, therefore, in the former part of this period, was partly Roman money, which the feveral armies of Saxon adventurers had taken from the unhappy Britons, and partly German money, which they had brought with them from the continent. For as those armies came into this island with a design to settle in it, and brought their wives and children with them, we may be certain that they did not leave their cash behind them.

The first Saxon coins. It is impossible to discover when the princes of the several Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the hep-tarchy began to coin money of their own; though it is highly probable they exercised this prerogative of royalty soon after they assumed the name of kings. In the most ancient of their laws, which are those of Ethelbright, who was King of Kent from A.D. 561. to A.D. 616., all the

mulcts

<sup>32</sup> Bartholin. de Causis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, p.449.

mulcts are estimated in shillings, which were Saxon coins or denominations of money 83: a proof that this money was become the current coin of the kingdom before that period. It is true indeed, that the oldest Anglo-Saxon coin yet discovered (except one of Ethelbright's, which Camden fays he had feen) is one of Edwin's, who was King of Northumberland from A. D. 617. to A.D. 633.; and it is even far from being certain that this coin belonged to Edwin. But this is no evidence that there were not many pieces coined by the more ancient kings of that and of the other kingdoms 54.

When the precious metals of gold and filver Diffinction were first employed as the great instruments of between commerce, and the representatives of all commodities, they were paid by weight, without any money. impression; and even after pieces of these metals began to be flamped or coined, these pieces were ftill certain well-known weights of the country where they were coined; the smaller coins being commonly regular fubdivisions of the greater, as halfs, fourths, &c. But as it would have been inconvenient, on many accounts, to have stamped very large pieces of gold and filver, or, in other words, to have made very large unportable coins, it became usual to make a certain fixed number of coins out of a certain weight of metal, as a pound, an ounce, &c., and then to call that

I deministration of the education where \*3 Leges Saxon. p. 2. &c.

<sup>4</sup> Hickesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 181. Camd. Remains, p. 181.

number of coins by the name of that weight. This introduced the diffinction between real coins, as crowns, half-crowns, shillings, &c. and denominations of money, as pounds, marks, nobles, &c. each of the latter containing a certain fixed and well-known number of the former. Monies of both these kinds are frequently mentioned in the laws and histories of the Anglo-Saxons; and therefore the most methodical and fatisfactory way of treating this intricate subject feems to be this, - first to set down all the different kinds of money, whether real coins or mere denominations, that were known and used in England in this period, beginning with the highest and ending with the lowest; and then to give fome account of each of these kinds of money, in the fame order.

Names of Anglo-Saxon money. The different kinds of money that are mentioned in the laws and histories of England in this period.

1. The pound,

7. The fceata,

2. The mark,

8. The penny,

- 3. The mancus,
  4. The ora,
- 9. The halfling, or halfpenny,
- 5. The shilling,
- 10. The feorthling,
- 6. The thrimfa,
- 11. The stica.

The pound.

The pound of money is very often mentioned in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as well as in many passages of their history. Thus, by these laws, the king's weregeld was two hundred and forty pounds of filver, one half to be paid to the public

public for the loss of its fovereign, and the other half to the royal family for the loss of its head 85. It is almost unnecessary to take notice, that the Anglo-Saxon pound was not a real coin: for coins of fuch weight would at any time be inconvenient; but when the precious metals were fo fcarce and valuable, would have been peculiarly improper. The pound was then, as it is at prefent, only a denomination of money; but with this remarkable difference, that it was then a just and real denomination, and implied what the word imports; whereas at prefent it is an arbitrary name given to a fum of money that weighs only about one third of a pound. Whenever, therefore, we meet with the pound in the laws and history of the Anglo-Saxons, it fignifies as many of their coins of any kind as were actually made out of a pound of metal, and, if thrown into the scale, would have weighed a pound. Their nummulary language in this particular was perfectly agreeable to truth, and conveyed the clearest ideas to their minds; because they could not but know the weight of their own pound, and how many pieces of each kind of coin were made out of it. But we who live at fo great a distance of time, and have such imperfect monuments of those ages, are not so well acquainted with those two particulars; which hath been the occasion of almost all the darkness and uncertainty in which this subject is involved. It will

be proper, therefore, before we proceed one step further, to endeavour to discover, if possible, the real weight of the money-pound of the Anglo-Saxons.

Weight of the Saxon moneypound.

Weights and measures are among the first things that are adjusted by the people of all countries, after their emerging from the favage flate, and beginning to have any commercial intercourse among themselves, or with the rest of mankind: for till these are settled and underflood, neither foreign nor domestic trade can be carried on with any tolerable degree of justice or exactness. We may be very certain, therefore, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this ifland, had their own weights and measures handed down to them from their ancestors, and firmly established by immemorial custom. We may be no less certain, that they brought these their ancient national weights and measures with them, and that they and their posterity continued to use them in their new settlements in this island, as they and their ancestors had done in their old ones on the continent; for there is hardly any one thing of which nations are more tenacious than of their weights and measures. There is no probability, therefore, in the conjecture of some learned men,—that the Anglo-Saxons adopted the Roman weights and measures which they found in use among the provincial Britons, and laid their own afide 86. This was a compliment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Gronov. de Pecun. Vet. p. 347. Hooper on Ancient Weights and Measures, p. 400.

they were by no means disposed to pay, to a nation with whom they had no friendly intercourfe, and against whom they were animated with the most implacable hatred. Nor is this conjecture more agreeable to historical evidence than to probability. The late learned Mr. Folkes discovered, that the Tower-pound, which continued fo long in use in the English mints, was the money-pound of the Anglo-Saxons. "It is reasonable (says he) to think, that "William the Conqueror introduced no new " weight into his mints, but that the fame " weight used there for some ages, and called " the pound of the Tower, was the old pound of "the Saxon moneyers before the conquest. "This pound was lighter than the Troy pound " by three quarters of an ounce Troy 87." This estimate of the Tower or Saxon money-pound, is supported by the unquestionable evidence of a verdict remaining in the Exchequer, dated October 30. A.D. 1527.: "And whereas heretofore " the merchaunte paid for coinage of every " pound Towre of fyne gold, weighing xi oz. quarter Troye, 113. vi d. Now it is deter-" mined by the King's Highness, and his faid councille, that the foresaid pound Towre " shall be no more used and occupied; but all manner of gold and filver shall be wayed by " the pound Troye, which maketh xii oz. Troye, which exceedeth the pound Towre in weight

ancellors!

Tables of English Silver Coins, p. 1, 2.

" 111 quarters of the oz." 88 The old Tower or Saxon ounce, the twelfth part of the Tower or Saxon pound, as taken from the accounts in the Exchequer A.D. 1527., was 450 Troy grains 89. From the above account, it appears, that the Anglo-Saxon money-pound, with its fubdivisions of grains andoun ces, stood thus:

Troy grains.

450	ounce,	and dist
5400	12	pound.

Mr. Folkes gives another estimate of the Saxon or Tower pound, taken from the chamber of accounts at Paris about Edward III.'s time. which is a very little different from that given above, making the Tower ounce 451.76 Troy grains 90. But this difference is fo trifling, being hardly thirteen grains in the pound, that it merits no attention.

There is one circumftance that makes it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that the Anglo-Saxons brought this money-pound with them from the continent; which is this, - that it is the same with the German money-pound, to a degree of exactness that could not be owing to accident, but proves that they were derived from one origin, viz. the pound of their common

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Tables of English Silver Coins, p. 1, 2.

90 Id. ibid.

ancestors the ancient Germans. The great refemblance, or rather identity, of these pounds, will appear from the following table:

Lettensk Rahlymat mendelnik ha	Troy	grains.
The Old Tower or Saxon ounce,	al Entr	450
The present Colonia ounce,	de data	451.38
The Standard Strafburg ounce,		451.38
The Tower or Saxon ounce in Ed-	JF 149	Decreira
ward III.'s time,	a like	451.76

The learned Mr. Clarke (to whose curious refearches I gratefully acknowledge I am much indebted) traces the origin of the Saxon moneypound much higher, and deduces it from the ancient Greek pound. But the shortest abridgment that could be given of that deduction, would be too long for this place 91. It is sufficient to observe upon the whole, that if the above account be just, "the money-pound of the "Anglo-Saxons was the denomination or name " of as many coins of any kind as were coined " out of a mass of metal weighing 5400 Troy " grains." The names and numbers of these coins will afterwards appear; but it may not be improper to take notice at prefent, that out of every fuch pound of filver were coined 240 filver pennies, each weighing 221 Troy grains, twenty pennies out of every ounce. If the Saxons had fuch a coin as a shilling (which it is highly probable they had), forty-eight of these shillings

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were coined out of every pound of filver, four out of every ounce; each shilling containing five pennies; and weighing 112½ Troy grains.

Another moneypound.

It must not be concealed, that some eminent writers on this subject have been of opinion, that the Anglo-Saxons had another money-pound of fifteen ounces92. This opinion is chiefly founded on the following law of King Athelftan, who reigned in the former part of the tenth century: "A ceorl's weregeld, by the Mercian law, is " two hundred shillings; a thane's weregeld is " fix times as much, or twelve hundred shil-" lings; the simple were geld of a king is equal to that of fix thanes, or thirty thousand sceatas, which make one hundred and twenty pounds. "The kingbote, which is to be paid to the kingdom, is equal to the weregeld, which is to " be paid to the royal family 93." From this law it appears, that at this time fix times 1200 fhillings, or 7200 shillings were equal to 120 pounds; which they could not be, unless there were 60 shillings in the pound. Now if there had been only four of these shillings coined out of an ounce, it is certain that the pound, out of which fixty of them were coined, must have contained 15 ounces. But the most probable account of this matter feems to be this: that about this time the weight and value of the

93 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.64.

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<sup>92</sup> Hickefii Differtat. Epistol. p. 111. Sir Andrew Fountaine, ibid. p. 165.

shilling was diminished one fifth part; and inflead of containing five pennies, and weighing 112 grains, it contained only four pennies, and weighed only 90 grains. This diminution of the shilling might be owing to a scarcity of filver, occasioned by the depredations of the Danes, and exigencies of the state, or to some other cause to us unknown. If this supposition be admitted, the monstrous absurdity of having two money-pounds, with their numerous fubdivisions, current in the same country at the same time (which would have introduced intolerable confufion and perplexity into all money transactions), will be avoided: the pound will remain the same, confifting of 12 ounces, out of which were coined, for a time, fixty shillings, each containing only four pennies, and weighing only 90 grains. This supposition is almost converted into a certainty, when we consider, that all writers on this fubject allow, that there never were either more or fewer than 240 pennies in the pound; and that this proportion between the pound and the penny was always observed in all the gradual diminutions of the pound, and is observed at this day: but if the shilling contained five pennies, when there were fixty of them in the pound, as it certainly did when there were only forty-eight of them in the pound; in the former case, the pound of fixty shillings must have contained 300 pennies, which it certainly never did. At what time this diminution of the weight and value of the shilling took place, and how long it continued, it is impossible to discover with precision; but there is sufficient evidence, that when the tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom was restored under the government of Canute the Great, the shilling was restored to its former weight and value. This appears from the following law of that prince: " He who vio-" lates the protection of a church of the highest " order, shall pay 5 pounds by the English law; " -of the fecond order, 120 shillings; -of the " third order, 60 shillings; -of the lowest order, " 30 shillings 94." In this law the mulcts to be paid for violating the protection of churches, according to their dignity, arife in the fame proportion from the lowest to the highest; from which it follows, that as 30 shillings is the half of 60 shillings, and 60 shillings the half of 120 shillings; fo 120 shillings is the half of five pounds. From this law, therefore, it is evident, that when it was made, there were 240 shillings in five pounds, or 48 shillings in one pound.

The real, moneypound of the Saxons. The above account of the Saxon money-pound is confirmed by the real weight of their pennies now remaining, which Mr. Folkes found to be at a medium 22½ Troy grains 95. This made their shilling, containing five pennies, to weigh 112½ Troy grains, and their pound, containing 48 shillings, to weigh 5400 Troy grains; which are the exact number of grains in the Tower pound; which we may therefore conclude, was

<sup>94</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 127.

<sup>95</sup> Tables of Ancient Coins, p. c.

the Anglo-Saxon money-pound. This pound they probably brought with them from the continent, as it is the same with the Colonia and Strafburgh pounds; and it continued to be their only money-pound through the whole of this period, and even down to the reign of Henry VII., when it was changed for the Troy pound, which is 360 grains, or three fourths of a Troy ounce, heavier 66. This fmall difference between the Tower pound and the Troy pound is the reason that one pound of Anglo-Saxon money did not contain quite fo much filver as three pounds of our present money, though in general calculations, where much exactness is not necessary, we have always stated them in that proportion. Here, however, it may be proper to state the exact proportion; which is this: - " That one " Anglo-Saxon money-pound contained as much " filver as is now coined into £2: 16: 3 " fterling."

It cannot be denied that the Anglo-Saxons The merwere acquainted with a pound which contained pound of 15 ounces, which they used on some occasions, the Angloand for some purposes, though they did not use it in their mints. This pound is plainly mentioned in the following law of King Ethelred, preserved by Brompton, which (as I suspect) hath been the occasion of many mistakes: " I " command those who have the keeping of the " ports, and the collecting of the customs on

95 Clarke on Coins, p.99.

" goods, that, under the pain of my displea-" fure, they collect my money by the pound of " the market; and that each of these pounds " be fo regulated and flamped as to contain " 15 ounces 97." It is evident, both from the words and the intention of this law, that the pound of 15 ounces which is mentioned in it, was not the money-pound, but the pound of the market, or the mercantile pound, by which the heavy goods of merchants were weighed when they were exported or imported, and according to which the King's customs payable upon these goods were to be rated. This law was probably procured by the people of London, who were great friends to that unhappy King, and afforded him protection in their city when he could not find it in any other part of his dominions. It was evidently intended to favour the merchants, and to fecure them from the exactions of the customers. This distinction between the mercantile and the money-pound was not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons, but was in use among the Greeks, Romans, and all other trading nations, both ancient and modern. 93

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The mark, which is often mentioned in the laws and histories of this period, was also a denomination of money, and not a real coin; and, next to the pound, it was the highest denomination then known in England. It was not fo

<sup>97</sup> Brompton inter decem Script. p. 899.

<sup>98</sup> Clarke on Coins, p.85.

properly an Anglo-Saxon as an Anglo-Danish denomination, having been introduced by the Danes, when they obtained a legal fettlement in this island, in the reign of Alfred the Great; for it appears for the first time in the articles of agreement between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish king 99. That the mark had its origin in Scandinavia, and was brought from thence both into France and England, is confirmed by two of the most learned antiquaries of the north, 100

It would be quite improper to load the pages Weight of of a general history with a critical examination the mark. of the fentiments of different writers concerning the weight and value of the mark. It was long imagined that the mark and the mancus (which will be by and by described) were the same. This opinion feems to have arisen from the refemblance of the two barbarous Latin words marca and manca; and was certainly a very great mistake, and the source of much perplexity and confusion. Without entering into any tedious investigations, it feems to be most probable, upon the whole, - "That the mark bore the " fame proportion to the pound, in the period " we are now examining, and in every fucceed-" ing period, that it doth at present, viz. that it " was then, as it is now, two thirds of the " weight and value of the pound." If this con-

<sup>9)</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.47.

Arngrim Jonas Crymogææ, l.1. c.8. Stiernhöok de Jure Sueonum, p. 113.

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jecture (for I shall call it no more) is well founded, the Anglo-Danish mark in this period must have weighed 8 Tower ounces, or 3600 Troy grains, of gold or filver; the mark of filver must have been equal in value to 160 Saxon pennies, and to 32 of the larger Saxon shillings, of 5 pennies each, and to 40 of the fmaller Saxon shillings, of 4 pennies each. It must also have been equal in weight of filver to £1:17:9 of our present money; which is exactly two thirds of £2:16:3, the weight in filver of the Saxon pound.

The mark brought from Scandinavia.

It was very eafy for the Anglo-Saxons to difcover this proportion between the Danish mark and their own pound; and when they had difcovered it, nothing could be more reasonable than to keep these two denominations of money in the fame proportion to each other, in all their various changes, as the only means of preventing confusion in their mercantile transactions. Nor is positive historical evidence wanting, that the Danish mark, when it was brought into England, was a weight of eight ounces, according to the above account. The Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic mark (as we are told by Arngrim Jonas) weighed eight oræ or ounces of pure gold, or pure filver: and in the payment of taxes eight oræ were always paid for one mark 101. According to Stiernhöok, this was also the weight of the ancient Swedish mark: "The mark was

Arngrim Jonas Crymogææ, l. 1. c. 8.

" the most ancient, the most common, and the " largest denomination of money, among all the " nations of the North. Nor was it peculiar to "them, but was known and used by the peo-" ple of Holland, Germany, France, and Eng-" land. The ancient mark of all these nations " weighed eight ounces of pure gold, or pure cc filver 102 " This was the mark that was brought into England by the Danes; and, after the accession of the Danish princes to the throne, was established by law; and the mul&ts that were to be paid by certain criminals, which had formerly been rated in pounds, shillings, and pence, were rated in marks, and their fubdivisions. By one of these laws, the manbote of a villan or fokeman was rated at 12 oræ or ounces of filver; and the manbote of a freeman (which was the double of the other) was rated at 3 marks 103. From this law we learn, that there were 24 ounces of filver in 3 marks, and confequently 8 ounces in I mark. This continued to be the weight of the money-mark in England as long as 12 ounces continued to be the weight of the money-pound. 104

After the accession of the Danish kings to the English throne, they introduced their commercial mark, as well as their money-mark; and all kinds of goods at the custom-houses, which had formerly been weighed by the Saxon commer-

Mercantile mark.

<sup>102</sup> Stiernhöok de Jure Sueonum, p. 133.

Wilkins Leges Saxon. 104 Stow Chron. p. 287.

cial pound of fifteen ounces, were then weighed by the Danish commercial mark of twelve ounces. "In the reign of Canute the Great, there were two marks, the money mark, and the mer-cantile mark. The money mark, by which pure gold and pure silver were weighed, con-tained eight ounces; and the mercantile mark, by which all other kinds of goods were weighed, contained twelve ounces of the reader cannot fail to take notice, that the same proportion was still observed between the Danish money mark and commercial mark, as between the Saxon money pound and commercial pound, &c. &c.; the one was two-thirds of the other.

The man-

The mancus is another species of money that is often mentioned in the laws and histories of the Anglo-Saxons, and of all the chief European nations, in the middle ages 107. It hath been much disputed, whether the mancus was a real coin, or only a denomination of money, like the pound and mark. Without giving a detail of the arguments on both sides of this question, which would be tedious, it seems to be most probable, that the mancus was a real gold coin; and that mancusses were coined by some of our Anglo-Saxon kings, as well as by the sovereigns of several other nations of Europe, in the present period. This, it must be confessed, is directly contrary to the commonly-

<sup>105</sup> Refenius ad Jus aulicum Canuti, p. 703.

<sup>206</sup> Du Cange Gloff. voc. Mancus.

received opinion that Henry III. was the first King of England who coined gold, A. D. 1297. 107 But this opinion, though it hath long and univerfally prevailed, is chiefly founded on the negative argument, "That no English gold coins " of greater antiquity have yet been found:" an argument very weak and inconclusive, and now quite destroyed by the actual discovery of fome Anglo-Saxon gold coins 108. We have good reason, therefore, to believe the direct teftimony of Aelfric, the grammarian, an Anglo-Saxon writer of eminent dignity and great learning; who expressly fays, - "That though the "Romans had many different names for their " coins, the English had only three names for "theirs, viz. mancuffes, shillings, and pen-" nies 109." That the Saxons had feveral names of money, besides these, as pounds and marks, we have already feen; thefe three, therefore, must have been the names of real coins, as diftinguished from mere denominations of money. But though we have fufficient evidence in general, that gold coins, and particularly mancuffes, were struck by some of our Anglo-Saxon kings, we have no information by which of these kings in particular they were coined; because there are none of those ancient mancuffes yet discovered.

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<sup>107</sup> Clarke on Coins, p. 373.

Mr. Pegge's Differtations on fome Anglo-Saxon Remains.
 Aelfric Gram. Sax. p. 52. Append. Sommer's Saxon Diction.

Weight of the man-

We know with the greatest certainty what was the value of the Saxon gold mancus, and may from thence discover very nearly what was its weight. The same Archbishop Aelfric, commonly called the Grammarian, tells us, that there were five pennies in one shilling, and thirty pennies in one mancus 114. If, therefore, there was fuch a coin as a filver mancus, which is not probable, it must have weighed 675 Troy grains, equal to fix Saxon shillings, to 30 Saxon pennies, to the eighth part of a Tower pound, and to 7 shillings and a small fraction of our present money. If a gold mancus was to be exchanged for filver, or the value of it paid in filver, 6 Saxon shillings, or 30 Saxon pennies, were to be given for it. If the value of any given weight of gold was to the value of an equal weight of filver, as 12 to 1, in this period, as is generally supposed, then the weight of the gold mancus must have been the twelfth part of 675 Troy grains, or 56 Troy grains, or the eighth part of a Tower ounce. This was exactly the weight of a very numerous fet of gold coins, which were current in the middle ages, not only over all Europe, but in many parts of Asia and Africa, though under different names. These were the mancusses or ducats of Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Holland, the fultani of Conftantinople and the East, the chequeens of Barbary, and the sheriffs

of Egypt, which were all of the same weight and value with the Anglo-Saxon mancus ". This identity of the gold coins of so many different nations is an indication, that there was some commercial intercourse between them, and must have been a great conveniency to merchants.

The ora was the next species of money that is The ora, mentioned in the laws and histories of the Anglo-Saxons; but whether it was a real coin, or only a denomination of money, still remains doubtful. This, as well as the mark, was introduced by the Danes; and the ora was in reality a fubdivision of the mark. "There were only two " fubdivisions (says Stiernhook) of the mark, " viz. the half-mark, and the eight part, which " was called the ora. Though this last is at " present unknown to the English, there is " fufficient evidence, that it was in use amongst "them in ancient times, being carried from hence into their country by the Danes. The " weight of the ora, as I have already observed, " was one ounce, or the eighth part of a " mark "2." Arngrim Jonas gives the fame account of the origin, weight, or value of the ora 113. If there was fuch a filver coin, therefore, as the ora, it must have weighed one Tower ounce, or 450 Troy grains, equal to 4 of the larger Saxon shillings, and to 20 Saxon pennies,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Clarke on Coins, p. 293.

<sup>112</sup> Stiernhöok de Jure Sueonum, p. 134.

<sup>113</sup> Crymogææ, l. 1. c. 8.

and to 4s. 8½d. of our present money. If there was no such coin as a silver ora, then they paid for every ora in an account, either 4 Saxon shillings, or 20 Saxon pennies. This continued to be the weight and value of the ora till after the conclusion of this period, as appears from many passages in Doomsday-book."

The Anglo-Saxon shilling a real coin.

There is hardly any species of money more frequently mentioned in the laws and histories of the Anglo-Saxons than the shilling. It was in shillings that they estimated the mulcts and penalties inflicted by their laws on those who were guilty of certain crimes; and in shillings they fixed the weregelds, or the prices of the lives and limbs of perfons of all ranks 115. Payments, and the prices of commodities, were also generally rated in shillings. Notwithstanding this, it was long the universal opinion of antiquaries and historians, that the Anglo-Saxon shilling was a mere denomination of money, and not a real coin 116. This opinion, however, which is founded only on this, that none of these shillings have been yet discovered, is quite improbable, and contrary to the plainest testimony of feveral Anglo-Saxon writers, who certainly knew their own coins. That of Archbishop Aelfric, already quoted, is perfectly plain, and ought to be decifive: "The English have " only three names for their coins, mancuffes,

Scriptores xv. a Galeo edit. p. 764, 765.

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 45, 46.

<sup>416</sup> Chronicon Preciofum, p. 40.

" shillings, and pennies." In the Saxon Bible, the Jewish shekels are sometimes translated by these two words, filver shillings, and sometimes by the word filverings, and fometimes by the word fillings; which plainly indicates, that there was fuch a coin of filver as a shilling, which on fome occasions was, by way of eminence, called the filvering, as being the largest filver coin. The name of this coin, which in Saxon is fpelled scilling, is evidently derived from heilieus, the name of a Roman coin of the fame weight and value; in imitation of which the Saxon shilling was coined. The very change of the weight of the Saxon shilling from 48 out of the pound of filver to 60, already mentioned, is a proof that it was a real coin, fometimes heavier and fometimes lighter. But whoever defires to fee the arguments drawn out at full length in support of this opinion, " That the " Saxon shilling was a real coin," must consult the learned work quoted below. 117

There is no difficulty in discovering the weight Its weight and value of the Saxon shilling with the greatest and value. certainty and exactness. When 48 of these shillings were coined out of the Tower pound of filver, weighing 5,400 Troy grains, each of them must have weighed 1121 of these grains, equal to 5 Saxon pennies, of 22 grains each, and to 18.2d. of our present money. When 60 of these shillings were coined out of a Tower pound

of filver, each of them must have weighed 90 Troy grains, equal to 4 Saxon pennies, and to  $11\frac{1}{4}d$ . of our present money.

The thrimfa.

The thrimfa is another species of money which is fometimes mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws, particularly in those of Athelstan: and hath greatly perplexed our antiquaries and historians, fome of them making it equal in value to 3 Saxon shillings, and others equal only to I Saxon penny; while others frankly confess their ignorance of its value 118. It appears, however, very evident, from an attentive examination of the feveral laws in which it occurs, that the thrimfa was (as its name imports) equal in value to three Saxon pennies. It feems to have been a real coin, contrived as the most convenient fubdivision between the shilling and the penny. When the shilling contained 5 Saxon pennies, the thrimfa was three-fifths of it; and when the shilling contained 4 Saxon pennies, the thrimsa, which remained unaltered, was three-fourths of it. We have examples of both these proportions in the laws of King Athelftan. In one of these laws, which was made in the beginning of his reign, when the shilling was at its primitive value of five pennies. 2000 thrimfas, the weregeld of a thane, by the law of East-Anglia, are faid to be equal in value to 1200 shillings, the weregeld of a thane, by the law of Mercia; from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Spelmanni Gloff. in voc. Thrimfa. Nicolfon's Historical Library, p.44. Brady's Hift. p.68. Chron. preciosum, p.28.

whence it appears, that the thrimfa was threefifths of the shilling 119. In another of these laws, which was made near the end of his reign. when the shilling was brought down in weight and value to 4 Saxon pennies, it is faid, that the weregeld of a ceorl, by the law of East-Anglia, was 266 thrimfas, which make 200 shillings, according to the Mercian law 120. From this law it appears, that the proportion between the thrimfa and the shilling was changed, and that the former was three-fourths of the latter. According to the above account, the weight of the thrimfa must have been 67 Troy grains, equal to 3 Saxon pennies, and to 8½d. of our prefent money; and that 80 thrimfas must have been coined out of a Tower pound of filver. The currency of the thrimfa never was univerfal; and it feems to have been coined only for a short time, as it was found to be unnecessary. This is the true reason why it is not mentioned among the names of the Anglo-Saxon coins by Archbishop Aelfric, as it had fallen into disuse before his time. 121

There is no kind of money more frequently The Anmentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws than the glo-Saxon pending, pening, peninga, or penny. This was penny. by far the most common, though not (as our antiquaries long imagined) the only coin, that

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<sup>119</sup> Somner. Gloff. in voc. Thrimfa. Lye's Dictionarium Saxonicum.

120 Wilkins Leges Saxon, p. 71.

<sup>121</sup> Clarke on Coins, p.229—236.

was ftruck by the English princes of this period. The weight and value of the penny remained invariably the fame through all the Saxon times, and are both perfectly well known. It was a fmall filver coin, of which 240 were coined out of a Tower pound of that metal, each penny weighing 221 Troy grains, equal in weight and value to one of our present filver three-pences, all but 11 Troy grain. Any number of the other denominations of money or coins might have been paid in these pennies without a fraction, by giving 240 of them for every pound, 160 for every mark, 30 for every mancus, 20 for every ora, 5 for every larger shilling, 4 for every leffer shilling, and 3 for every thrimsa. The far greatest part of the current cash of England in this period confifted of these small filver pennies; which is the reason that so many of them are still preserved, when almost all the other Saxon coins are loft. In that great fcarcity of filver that prevailed over all Europe, from the fall of the Roman empire to the discovery of America, the penny was a very proper fize for the most common current coin; because it was not too large for fmall payments, nor too fmall, in fufficient numbers, for the greatest.

The sceata.

The fceata, which is fometimes mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws, was certainly a real coin, both because its name properly fignifies, a coin, or piece of money, and because it was too small for a mere denomination. The coin called sceata doth not appear to have been always of the same weight

weight and value; but feems to have been generally one of the smallest of their current coins: which gave occasion to that form of an oath, which every one who denied a debt in a court of juffice was obliged to take, - "I fwear " by the name of the living God, that I am not "indebted to N either shilling or sceata, or " their worth;" i. e. I am not owing him either a great fum, like a shilling, which was the largest filver coin, nor a small sum, like the fceata, which was one of the fmallest 122. In the laws of Ethelbright, which are the most ancient of the Anglo-Saxon laws, the fceata is often mentioned, and appears to have been a very fmall coin, of which twenty were equal to a shilling; and consequently it weighed only 51 Troy grains 123. But in the laws of King Athelstan, which were made more than three centuries after the former, the fceata is evidently the fame coin with the Saxon penny. For the weregeld of a king, in one of these laws, is fixed at 30,000 fceatas, which are faid to be equal to 120 Saxon pounds 124. Now, 30,000 pennies are exactly equal to 125 Saxon pounds; which shews, that if this weregeld was paid, not in actual weight, but in fuch a number of fceatas or pennies, by tale, then an addition of five pounds was to be paid, to make up for the deficiency of weight occasioned by the wear of these pennies. In general, therefore, we may conclude, that during

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.64. 122 Id. p. 5, 6.

the greatest part of this period, the sceata and the penny signified the same coin; and this is no doubt the reason that Archbishop Aelfric doth not mention the sceata among the names of the Anglo-Saxon coins, because it was the same with the penny. 125

The Anglo Saxon penny valuable.

Though the Saxon filver penny or fceata was a finall coin, it was of confiderable value, and would then have purchased as much provisions, or goods of any kind, as five of our shillings will do at present. The price of the best sheep in England, for example, was fixed by the laws of King Athelstan, near the middle of the tenth century, at four of these pennies; for there were only four pennies in the shilling when that law was made 126. By the same law, an ox was only valued at 30, a cow at 20, and a fow at 10, of these pennies.

Halflings, feorthlings, and stycas.

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As it would be inconvenient, at prefent, to have no smaller coins than crown pieces, so it would have been equally inconvenient, in the Saxon times, to have had no coins of less value than those penny-pieces. To prevent this, they coined halflings, or halfpennies of silver, weighing in Troy grains, worth about three halfpence of our money; and feorthlings, or the fourth of a penny, weighing 5½ Troy grains, worth about three farthings of our money. Both these coins are mentioned in the Saxon gospels; which is a

<sup>7:5</sup> Clarke on Coins, p. 428—430.

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 66.

fufficient proof that they had fuch coins when these gospels were translated. But, after all, when many things were fo very cheap, it would ftill have been inconvenient to have had no coin of less value than the filver farthing; and therefore they coined a brass coin of the value of half a farthing of their money, and of a farthing and a half of ours. These brass coins, which were called ftycas, are mentioned also in the Saxon gospels; and a confiderable number of them belonging to feveral Northumbrian kings, have been found, and published. 127

Having thus given an account of the weight Refult of and value of the feveral denominations of money, and real coins, that were in use among the Anglo-Saxons in the present period, it may not be improper to place the refult of the whole under the eye of the reader in the following table, that the inspection of it may enable him to discover, at one glance, the real weight and value of any fum of money he happens to meet with in the Saxon history. all Europe, for fome ages besore

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Hickefii Dissertat. Epist. p. 182.

tener frank foudi of twelve-peace". Though the Byzants were comed at Confiantinople, or Byzantium, from whence they derived their name, yet they were well known in England,

Table of the names of the Anglo-Saxon denominations of money, and of real coins; with the weight of each of them in Troy grains, and value in the prefent money of Great Britain.

Names.	Troy grains.	Prefent value.	
by a most out of to do and or	their ment	£. s. d.	q.
The pound,	5400	2 16 3	Sh.
The mark,	3600	1 17 9	Dig.
The mancus of gold,	56	7 0	I
The mancus of filver,	675	7 0	I
The ora,	450	4 8	I
The greater shilling,	1121	I 2	
The fmaller shilling,	90	11	I
The thrimfa,	671	8	2
The penny and fceata, -	221	it gaiv2	3
The halfling,	II	The same Call	I T
The feorthling,	5 ½	College Control of the World Control of the Control	3
The ftyca, a brafs coin, -	MESSERVED 19	Charles In	$I\frac{I}{2}$
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Foreign gold coins current in England.

Besides their own coins, those of all the other nations of Europe with whom they had any commerce, were current among the Anglo-Saxons in the present period. The gold coins that were current in England, and indeed over all Europe, for some ages before the Norman conquest, were of these three kinds:—1. The old Byzantine solidi, commonly called Byzants;—2. the most ancient frank solidi;—3. the lesser frank solidi of twelve-pence 128. Though the Byzants were coined at Constantinople, or Byzantium, from whence they derived their name, yet they were well known in England,

<sup>36</sup> Clarke on Coins, p. 246.

and great payments were often made in Byzantines. Thus the famous St. Dunstan purchased the estate of Hindon in Middlesex, of King Edgar, for 200 Byzantines 129. Out of the Greek pound of gold (which was the same with the Tower pound) 72 Byzantines were coined, each weighing 73 Troy grains, and worth 40 Saxon pennies, 8 Saxon shillings, and 9 shillings and four-pence halfpenny of our present money 130. Few coins ever had a longer or more univerfal currency than these Byzantines, having been current from the very beginning to the end of the Eastern empire not only in all its provinces, but also in all those countries which had been provinces of the Western empire, and amongst others in Britain 131. The ancient Frank folidus was the same in weight and value with the Saxon mancus already described. The lesser Frank folidus was worth no more than twelve Saxon pennies, or two fhillings and ten-pence of our present money 132. It was from the use of this leffer Frank folidus that the prefent division of our money-pound into 20 shillings, each shilling containing 12 pence, was introduced. Besides these gold coins, there were also some foreign filver coins current in England in this period; but a more minute enumeration is unnecessary, and would be tedious.

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Camden's Remains, p. 182.

Cod. Theod. 1.12. tit. 7. Cod.

Lindenbrog. Gloff. voce Solidus. Justin. 1. 10. tit. 70.

<sup>132</sup> Clarke on Coins, p. 329.

Incrementum paid in the Saxon times.

Though coins may be of the legal weight when they are struck, they are apt to lose something of that weight by long currency. To make up this deficiency of weight occasioned by wearing, it was a custom, probably a law, among the Anglo-Saxons, when they paid a fum of money by tale, to pay one twenty-fourth part more than the nominal fum. For example, though there were only 48 Saxon shillings coined out of a pound of filver, yet when a merchant paid a debt of one pound in shillings that had been some time in the circle, he paid 50 of these shillings instead of 48. This is the reason that the same mulct or fine that is called two pounds in one law, is called one hundred shillings in another; four additional fhillings being paid to make up for the prefumed deficiency in weight 133. When a debt of one pound was paid in pennies, which were by far the most common coins, 250 of these pennies were paid instead of 240; which were the real number coined out of a pound. Thus the weregeld of a king is declared to be 30,000 pennies, or 120 pounds; but 30,000 pennies are really 125 pounds; because 5 pounds (or the twentyfourth part of the whole fum) were paid to make up the deficiency of weight in the current pennies 134. When any commodities are exceedingly fcarce and valuable, as gold and filver were in the ages we are now examining, men are very

<sup>133</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon. p.35. 38.

anxious not to be defrauded of the smallest part of them to which they are entitled.

As the weight is one capital confideration in Fineness the affair of coins; so their fineness, or the real of the Sax-on coins. proportion of pure gold, or pure filver, in them, is another. It was foon discovered, that a small mixture of fome baser metal, commonly called alloy with gold and filver in coins, gave them an additional hardness, and made them more durable. This therefore was admitted; but the greatest care was taken to ascertain the proportion between the pure gold or filver and the alloy, with the most minute exactness. The standard of the Anglo-Saxon money, as found by trials made upon their coins, was nine parts of pure filver, and one part of copper; and very fevere penalties were inflicted by their laws on those mint-masters who made money of a baser kind. By a law of Athelstan, a monetary who coined money below the legal standard, either in weight or fineness, was to have his right hand cut off, and nailed upon the door of his mint; but by a posterior one of Etheldred, those who were guilty of this crime were to be put to death 135. All coins that were agreeable to the legal flandard in these two respects, of weight and fineness, were declared by law to be the current coins of the kingdom; and none were permitted to refuse them in

Though their weight and purity are the two Art of capital confiderations in the affair of coins; yet coining.

135 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 59-118.

the legends and impresses which they bear, and the degrees of art and elegance with which they are fabricated, merit fome attention in every period from the antiquary and historian. The art of coining money was in a very imperfect ftate among the Anglo-Saxons. This is evident from the inspection of their filver pennies, or the plates of them, which have been published in the works quoted below 136. These pennies are very thin; and the relievo of the letters and figures upon them very low and faint. On one fide they commonly bear the prince's head by whose authority they were coined, with his name and his title in Latin (REX), and in a few instances in Saxon (CYNING). The letters are chiefly Roman with a mixture of Saxon, and for the most part very rudely formed. The reverses are various; but many of them contain only the names of the mint-mafter, and of the city where they were coined. For the fatisfaction of fuch readers as have not an opportunity of viewing these coins, or the tables of them which have been published, two of the most ancient, and one of the most modern of them, are engraved on the plate of the map in the Appendix, Fig. 1, 2, 3.

Description of Edwin's penny. Fig. 1. is a penny of Edwin 137, the first Christian King of Northumberland, and most probably the founder of the city of Edinburgh, who flourished

137 This is controverted by Mr. Pegge, Differtation 2.

from

<sup>136</sup> Camden Britan. vol. 1. Introduc. p. 165—203. Hickef. The-faur. Differtat. Epift. p. 161—182.

from A. D. 617. to A. D. 633. On one fide is the King's head, crowned with the infcription EDPIN. REX. A.; in which all the letters are Roman except the Saxon P (w). On the reverse is a cross in the centre (a proof that Edwin had embraced Christianity when this coin was struck), with this infcription, SEFWEL ON EOFER; which fignifies Sifwel (the name of the mint-mafter) at York.

The fecond is a penny of Adulf, who was King Of Adulf's of the East-Angles A. D. 664. On one side is penny. the King's head, with this inscription, AUDUL-FIUS PRISIN. Several explanations have been given of the last of these words, but none of them are without difficulties 138. On the reverse is a cross erected upon a globe, with a serpent hanging as lifeless on the tranverse of the cross, and this infcription, VICTURIA ADULFO.

The last is a penny of King Harold, who fell Of Hain the battle of Hastings, and was succeeded by rold's William the Conqueror. On one fide is a fceptre and the King's head crowned, with HAROLD REX ANGL. On the reverse the word PAX in the centre, and around it VLFGEAT ON GLE; which is Wlfgeat (the name of the mint-mafter) at Glocefter.

It is quite impossible to discover, with any Quantity degree of certainty, the quantity of current coin of money in Eng. in England in this period. On fome occasions, land. very confiderable fums are mentioned. The

fmall kingdom of Kent is faid to have paid to Ina King of Wessex, A. D. 694., no less than thirty thousand pounds, equal in quantity of filver to £84,375 of our prefent money, and in value and efficacy to more than eight millions sterling 139. This sum is so enormous for so fmall a territory, that some mistake must certainly have been committed by the transcribers of the Saxon chronicle; and therefore no inference can be drawn from this passage. If a historian may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, I should fuppose, that punda (pounds) had been inserted by a mistake instead of peninga (pennies), which was probably the true reading. For Ina's quarrel with the people of Kent was, that they had killed Mul, the brother of Ceadwalla, King of Wessex, his immediate predecessor; and therefore all that he could demand from them, by the established laws of the heptarchy, was the payment of the weregeld of a king, which was 30,000 pennies140. Even this fum (£351:11:3 of our money), triffing as it may appear to us, would not be eafily paid by the small kingdom of Kent, after it had been three times plundered by the West-Saxon armies in the space of eight years. Though Alfred the Great was one of the richeft of our Anglo-Saxon kings, he bequeathed no more by his last will than £500 to each of his two fons, and £100 to each of his three daughters 141. This was no more than £1406:5:0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Chron. Saxon. p.48.

<sup>140</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Testamentum Ælfredi, apud Asser. p.23.

of our money to a king's fon, and £281:5:0 to a king's daughter; a fufficient proof of the great fcarcity of money in England in the age of Alfred the Great. Nor was money more plentiful in France at that time than it was in England; for Charles the Bald King of France, who was cotemporary with Alfred, when he meditated an expedition into Italy A. D. 875. to feize the Imperial crown, could raife no more money in his whole kingdom than 10,000 marks, or £18,375 sterling 142. The cash of England feems to have increased considerably in the course of the tenth century, in the reigns of Edward the Elder, Athelstan, and Edgar the Peaceable, who were great encouragers of foreign trade. This enabled the English to pay the prodigious subsidies to the Danes in the unfortunate reign of Ethelred the Unready; which in twenty-three years, from A. D. 991. to A. D. 1014. amounted to no less than £167,000 of Saxon money, equal in quantity of filver to £469,687: 10:0 fterling 143. It appears, however, that they were fo much exhaufted and impoverished by these payments, that they were obliged to submit to the Danish yoke, as the only means of preferving themselves and their country from ruin. Upon the whole, we have good reason to believe, that there was not one fiftieth part of the cash in England, at any one time during this period which we are now de-

Boulainvilliers, p. 114. Spelman Gloff. voce Danegeld. lineating,

lineating, that is in it at present; and that this observation might be extended to almost every other country in Europe.

Whether the Scots, Picts, and Britons coined money or not in this period.

As no coins of the kings of the Scots, Picts, or Welsh, who flourished in this period, have been discovered, it hath been generally believed, that none of these princes coined any money. But this is very improbable on many accounts. The low countries of Scotland to the fouth of the frith of Forth, had been occupied by a colony of Saxons under Octa and Ebeffa in the fifth century, and became a part of the kingdom of Northumberland about the middle of the fixth. In this state these countries continued, both inhabited by Saxons and governed by Saxon princes, who coined money to the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom about the beginning of the tenth century. Now it is hardly possible, that the Scots and Picts, who were fuch near neighbours to the Saxons for fo many ages, and had fo much intercourse with them, both of a friendly and hostile nature, could remain ignorant of the use of money, and the art of coining it. At leaft, when the Scots kings obtained the dominion of the country between the Forth and Tweed, about the middle of the tenth century, they must have learned from their Saxon subjects the art of coining money, and must have exercifed it as a part of their prerogative. This money we may be certain was not very plentiful, and therefore it hath totally disappeared. It is still more improbable, that the Britons after they retired

retired into Wales, were ignorant of the use and art of coining money, when their ancestors, the provincial Britons, were fo well acquainted with both. It appears evidently from many of their laws, that the Welsh princes of this period did actually coin money. By one of these laws, the coining of money is declared to be one of the four unalienable prerogatives of the kings of Wales 144: a ridiculous declaration, if it was known that no money was ever coined in Wales! The kings of England imposed a certain tribute on the kings of Wales, part of which was to be paid in money; which they never would have done, if they had known that these princes had no money of their own. The falaries of the great officers in the courts of the kings of Wales were paid in money; and the prices of all commodities were rated by the laws of Wales in money. Nay, in these laws, both gold and filver coins are directly mentioned; which is certainly a much stronger evidence that there were fuch coins, than the bare disappearance of them is that they never existed 145. But though we have good reason to believe, from these and many other testimonies which might be produced from their laws and history, that the Welsh prince's of this period did coin money; yet we have no reason to suppose that their coins were very plentiful, when those of their richer neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons, were fo fcarce. The fmallnefs

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of the number of these Welsh coins, the injuries of time, wars, and revolutions, and the long subjection of that country to the crown of England, are the true reasons why all these coins have disappeared; though it is not impossible that some of them may be yet discovered.

Prices of commodities.

When money was fo fcarce in all parts of Britain, England not excepted, we may be certain that the prices of commodities in general, and particularly of fuch as were plentiful, would be very low. Of this we have the clearest positive evidence, in the few remaining monuments of those ancient times in which the prices of various commodities are mentioned. How amazingly low, for example, was the price of land. Some very clear evidences have already been produced, to which many more might be added, to prove, that the most common price of an acre of land, of the very best quality in the Anglo-Saxon times, was no more than fixteen Saxon pennies, or about four shillings of our money. Must it not appear incredible to us, that our ancestors, about eight or nine hundred years ago, paid as much money for four sheep as for an acre of the best arable land? This very strange, but well-attested fact, is not only a proof of the scarcity of money and of the low state of agriculture; but seems to indicate a more fcanty population in those times than is commonly imagined: for hardly any thing but a great want of people to occupy the country could have made land of fo little value in proportion to other things. By the Anglo-Saxon

Saxon laws, certain prices were fet upon all animals, men themfelves not excepted, which were to be paid by those who destroyed them; and these were no doubt the same prices for which such animals were usually purchased in the markets. In the laws of Ethelred the Unready, which were made near the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, are the following prices; which we shall give both in Saxon and Sterling money. 146

floor side and Debratoon :	Saxon.		Sterling.			
Price	£. s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Of a man or flave,	1 0	0	2	16	3	
Of a horse,	30	0	mis	15	2	
Of a mare or colt,	20	0	o Lo	3	5	
Of an ass or mule,	12	0	earer:	14	I	
Of an ox,	, 6	0	****	7	OI	
Of a cow,	5	4	iom.	5	6	
Of a fwine,	doctors.	3	other	1	IOI	į
Of a fheep,	ida In	0	fort ter	I.	2	9
Of a goat,	district	2	2022	aide	5 ½	

From the above table it plainly appears, that an Anglo-Saxon, in the reign of King Ethelred, could have purchased twenty horses, or mares, or mules, or oxen, or cows, or swine, or sheep, or goats, to say nothing of men, for the same quantity of silver that an Englishman must now pay for one of these animals of the middle sort. This seems to be as near as possible the true proportion between the value of money in the present times, and of those which we are now

<sup>146</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxon, p. 125.

examining,

examining, in the purchase of these most necessary and useful animals, and of all kinds of provisions, except in times of famine. In some other things, however, the proportion was very different. In the purchase of land, for example, money was several hundred times more valuable than it is at prefent; but in the purchase of books it was not really of fo great value as it is at this moment. So much hath the value of the former increased by the improvements of agriculture, and the increase of trade and population, and fo much hath the pecuniary value of the latter decreafed by the most ufeful inventions of paper and printing, by which books are multiplied almost ad infinitum. Such of our readers as defire to fee a more full and minute enumeration of the prices of animals, and of all their members, in this period (from the head of a king to the tail of a cat), may confult the work quoted below; which will fuggeft a thousand reflections concerning the different estimations of things, and the different taftes and defires of mankind in different circumftances 147. How much, for example, must we be surprised to see, that by the established laws of one part of this island, and most probably of the whole, the price of a hawk, or of a greyhound, was once the very fame with the price of a man; and that there was a time, when the robbing a hawk's neft was as great a crime in the eye of the law, and as feverely punished, as the murder of a christian. 148

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## HISTORY

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN.

## BOOK II.

## CHAP. VII.

The history of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions, of the people of Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449., to the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066.

THE honour and happiness of nations, as well as of particular persons, depend more on their manners than on their situation and circumstances. An active, brave, intelligent, and virtuous people, cannot be contemptible in any condition, nor unhappy in any habitable climate. Such a people, if they do not change their manners, will soon improve their circumstances, and convert the most unhospitable deferts, if they are not naturally incapable of vegetation,

Happiness of nations depends more on their manners than on their circumstances.

tation, into pleasant and fertile fields, crowded with inhabitants, and adorned with cities, towns, and villages. We need look no further than to our own American colonies for the most agreeable and convincing evidence of the truth of this affertion. Those countries which were, not very long ago, covered with almost impenetrable forests, the haunts of wild beasts and naked favages, are now become fertile, rich, and populous provinces, and are daily improving in all these particulars. On the other hand, nations corrupted by long and great prosperity, become luxurious, effeminate, and licentious in their manners, are objects of contempt and pity in the most flourishing circumstances. Restless, peevish, and discontented, amidst the greatest affluence, infatiable in their avarice, unbounded in their ambition, they are on the brink of ruin when they feem to have attained the pinnacle of human grandeur. Hiftory affords too many examples of mighty nations, whose destruction hath been occasioned by the corruption of their manners and who have been ruined by their own follies and vices, rather than by the arms of their enemies. For this, and many other mun ribett reasons, the history of the prevailing character and reigning manners of a nation, in every du their period, is both the most useful and amusing part of its hiftory, and merits the most particular attention.

People of Britain of two kinds.

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Great Britain, in this period, was inhabited by feveral diftinct nations, which formed fo

many different states and kingdoms. All these nations, however, with respect to their manners, customs, languages, &c. may be divided into these two classes, viz. 1. The posterity of the ancient Britons, who were left in the peaceable possession of the whole island by the Romans at their departure; and who continued in the poffession of Wales, and the far greatest part of Scotland, to the end of this period. For though these Britons were divided into different states. and unhappily engaged in war against each other, their national characters, manners, languages, &c. were very much the fame. 2. The feveral nations who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and made conquests and procured settlements in Britain, in the course of this period. For though these nations were called by different names, as Angles, Jutes, Saxons, and Danes, they were all descended from the same origin, spoke the same language, and had the same national manners and customs.

The manners, &c. of the ancient Britons and Not neces-Caledonians, the original inhabitants of this fary to deisland, have been so fully delineated in the fe- manners of venth chapter of the first book of this work, that the Scots it will not be necessary to give a minute detail of and Welsh those of their posterity, who form the first of these riod. two classes, in the present period. It would be impossible to do this, without repeating what hath been already faid on thefe fubjects. For the people of Wales, and of the highlands of Scotland, the genuine descendants of the ancient £ In Us VOL. IV. Britons

Britons and Caledonians, appear to have had the same manners and national character in this as in the preceding period; and both these nations have been very remarkable for their tenacious adherence to the customs of their ancestors through a long fuccession of ages. This hath been owing, - to their pride of their antiquity, to their national animofity against their nearest neighbours, kept constantly alive by mutual injuries,—to the nature of their country,—and to their want of commerce, or other intercourse with foreign nations; and not-to their want of capacity for improvement.

Manners of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes the chief fubject of this chapter.

AND LET

Britain

This is the first opportunity we have had of examining the manners, &c. of the fecond of the above classes, the nations who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and fettled in Britain, in the course of this period. This must therefore be the chief subject of the present chapter. A curious and interesting subject, which merits a most careful and attentive investigation! For the far greatest part of the present inhabitants of England, and even of the fouth-east parts of Scotland, being descended from those Scandinavian and German nations, must wish to see a distinct and faithful picture of their remote anceftors, whose blood is ftill flowing in their veins, whom they still refemble in their persons, and from whom they derive many remarkable peculiarities in their national character and manners. In drawing this picture, a facred regard to truth (which I have spared no pains to discover) hath been

been my only guide; and this shall be my only apology to those who think it not so fair, and free from blemishes, as they expected. Anglo-Saxon and Danish ancestors must indeed appear to great disadvantage in many respects, if they are compared with their posterity in the present age, who have been so much enlightened, improved, and polished, by the discoveries of later ages, especially fince the revival of learning and the reformation of religion. But they will very well bear a comparison with their cotemporaries, in the other nations of Europe; with whom alone they ought to be compared.

We have no account of any remarkable change The cliin the climate of Great Britain in the course of mate. this period (as we had in the former), that could much affect the perfons or manners of its inhabitants. We hear indeed of feveral plagues, which raged with great violence, and fwept away great numbers of men, as well as of other animals; but these do not seem to have been more frequent, or more destructive, in this than in other periods of equal length. Famines indeed were both very frequent and very fevere in those ages; but these were rather owing to the imperfeet state of agriculture, than to any extraordinary inclemency of the feafons.

The face of the country fuffered a very great Face of the and fatal change after the departure of the Ro- country. mans. Many fine towns, villages, and countryfeats, were reduced to ruins by the inceffant and destructive wars of the Scots, Picts, Saxons, and

Danes; great numbers of gardens, orchards, and well-cultivated fields, had their fences broken down, and lay neglected; and the whole country, in one word, wore a dreary uncomfortable afpect during a great part of this period; which was partly the confequence, and partly the caufe, of feveral imperfections in the characters of its inhabitants.

Persons of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and fettled in Britain, are described by all the ancient writers who were acquainted with them, as remarkably tall, ftrong, and robust in their persons. This advantage they derived from their ancestors, and communicated to their posterity. For all the Greek and Roman authors who fpeak of the ancient Germans, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons, represent them as superior to all the rest of mankind in stature 2. Nor did their posterity degenerate in this respect after their settlement in this island. but still continued to be remarkable among the nations of Europe for the largeness of their limbs and height of their stature; but still more remarkable for the elegance of their shape, the fairness of their complections, and fineness of their hair 3. These were the three things which attracted the notice and excited the admiration of Gregory the Great, when he beheld fome English

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Historia Gildæ, et Epistolæ Gildæ, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cæfar, l. 1. c. 39. Mela, l. 3. c. 3. Columella, l. 3. c. 8. Vegetius, l. 1. c. 1. Strabo, l. 7. p. 290.

Bedæ Hist. Eccles. 1.2. c.1. Alcuin, apud Gale, t. 1. p. 703.

youths exposed to fale in the market-place at Rome. He was fo much ftruck with the beauty of their persons, that when he was told, that they were named English (Anglos), and that they and their countrymen were not yet converted to Christianity, he broke out into this exclamation: " How lamentable is it, that the prince of dark-" ness should have such beautiful subjects, and " that a nation so amiable in their bodies should " have none of the charms of divine grace in " their fouls! Their form is truly angelic, and "they are fit to be the companions of the angels "in heaven !!" We meet with feveral examples, in the writers of this period, of English youths preserved from death on account of the beauty of their persons, after they had been condemned by their enemies, and were on the point of being executed 5: a fufficient proof, that there must have been fomething uncommonly engaging in the aspect and form of these youths, which made fo ftrong an impression on the hearts of enemies no way famous for tenderness or humanity. Their hair, as well as their complections, were generally fair; but in various degrees; those of the Danes, who chiefly refided in the kingdom of Northumberland, being frequently red 6. Their eyes, which were commonly blue, are faid to have had fomething peculiarly stern and intimidating in them when they were inflamed Andrews of the state of the court of the cou

<sup>4</sup> Bedæ Hift. Eccles. 1. 2. c. 1. 5 Eddius Vita Wilfredi, c. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cluyer. p.96.

with anger? Like the ancient Germans, from whom they were descended, and to whom they bore a very great resemblance in their persons, they were more capable of bearing hunger and cold than thirst and heat. When the persons of the males among the Anglo-Saxons were so agreeable in their form, we may be almost certain, that those of their semales were still more fair and beautiful. Many evidences of this might be produced from books; but this will not be thought necessary by those who have the pleasure of conversing daily with their amiable daughters, who are not excelled in personal charms by any women in the world.

Longevity of the Anglo-Saxons.

As good health and long life depend very much on the natural foundness and vigour of the body, and the right configuration of its various parts, we have reason to presume, that many of the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a great degree of health, and that some of them prolonged their lives to an uncommon date. Of this last we meet with feveral examples in the remaining monuments of their history; from which the following is felected as one of the most remarkable and best attested. When the famous Turketul, who had been chancellor of England, and one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his time, retired from the world, and became abbot of Croiland, he found five very aged monks in that monastery, to whom he paid particular at-

<sup>7</sup> Pittoulur, t. 1. p. 198. Tacit. de Morib. German. c.4.

tention. Father Clarenbald, the eldest of those monks, died A. D. 973., after he had completed the 168th year of his age; the fecond, who was named Father Swarling, died that fame year, at the age of 142; the third, who was called Father Turgar, died the year after, in the 115th year of his age. The two other monks, named Brune and Ajo, died about the same time: and though their ages were not exactly known; yet it cannot be supposed that they were much younger than Father Turgar; because they had both seen the old Abbey of Croiland, which had been destroyed by the Danes A.D. 870. These facts are related with much confidence, and many other circumflances, by Ingulphus, who was also abbot of Croiland, and wrote from the historical register of that abbey.9

It is much easier to form a judgment of the Genius of bodily than of the mental endowments of any the Anglo-Saxons. The former manifest themselves by mere instinct, and are visible to every eye; but the latter require much culture to unfold and render them conspicuous. We have no reason, however, to fuspect, that the Anglo-Saxons were naturally defective in genius, or in any of the faculties of their minds; though the univerfal darkness and ignorance of those ages in which they lived, prevented the cultivation of their genius and the improvement of their faculties. Some few of them, as Aldhelm, Beda, Alcuin,

Alfred the Great, &c. were endowed with fuch an uncommon degree of genius, and strength of mind, that they overcame, in a great measure, all the disadvantages of their situation, and shone with a lustre far superior to their cotemporaries. It is certainly no slight presumption, that the people of England, in those times, enjoyed their sull proportion of genius, that the three most learned and ingenious men that appeared in Europe in the space of six centuries were Englishmen, viz. Bede, Alcuin, and Alfred.

Anglo-Saxon authors give an unfavourable character of their countrymen.

A writer, who wishes to draw an agreeable picture of the dispositions, manners, and moral characters, of the Anglo-Saxons, will find very few materials for that purpose in their own cotemporary writers. This I may prefume to fay with fome affurance, as I have perufed every remaining monument of those times that I could procure, with a direct view to this object, with very little fuccefs. For though those ancient authors exceed all the bounds of truth and probability, in heaping the most extravagant praises on certain favourite faints, and a few great benefactors to the church, they are very far from giving a favourable character of their countrymen in general, especially of the laity. On the contrary, they frequently paint them in the most odious colours, and represent them as a people deftitute of every virtue, and stained with every vice. To give many examples of this would be difagreeable: the following fhort one, translated from a Saxon fermon, preached by one of their own bishops

bishops A.D. 1012., will be a sufficient specimen of their way of painting the manners of their countrymen. " It cannot be denied, for it is " too evident, that this nation is plunged into "innumerable crimes and vices; as covetouf-" nefs, theft, robbery, gluttony, heathenish "impurities, fornications, adulteries, incefts, " plottings, treacheries, treafons, lyings, per-" juries, cruelties, murders, parricides. — The far greatest part of the people of this country, as I have already faid, are deplorably " corrupted in their manners, and become " murderers, parricides, priest-killers, monaf-"tery-haters, violaters of facred orders, false " fwearers, apostates, betrayers of their masters, "thieves, robbers, and plunderers. Many of the " women also are whores, adulteresses, child-" murderers, and witches. In a word, it is im-" possible either to number or give names to all " their wicked and flagitious deeds "." rid and shocking picture! but it is probable much more deformed than the original. For there have been ecclefiaftics in all ages, who delighted to declaim with vehemence against the vices of their times and countries, and when they were heated with their favourite subject, have loaded them with every crime their imaginations could invent, without a very fcrupulous regard to truth. The good Bishop Lupus, the author of the above fermon, feems to have been one of this flamp.

It is a misfortune that we have no means of viewing the characters of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, but through the dark medium presented to us by bigotted and gloomy monks, who were the only writers of those times. For as those monks could perceive no vices in their patrons, who were regularly conveyed to heaven in the arms of angels; so they could discover no virtues in their opposers, who were as constantly dispatched to hell in the claws of devils; and therefore their representations of the characters, either of their friends or enemies, are far from meriting an implicit faith.

Their piety tinctured with fuperfition.

A devout regard to facred things and the offices of religion, may be justly reckoned among the virtues of the Anglo-Saxons, after their conversion to Christianity. Of this, if it were neceffary, innumerable evidences might be produced. It must, however, be confessed, that their piety was not of the purest kind, but was tinctured with the abfurd and wretched fuperftitions of the ages in which they flourished; for which they are rather to be pitied than reproached. But their fubmitting to the expences, pains, and labours, with which their fuperstitious observances were attended, is at least an evidence, that they were disposed to have been religious if they had been right instructed. It may not therefore, be improper, in this place, to take a fhort view of some of those things which are most remarkable in the religious principles and practices of the Anglo-Saxons.

The

The English, in this period, were very remark- Their able for their extravagant fondness for the mo-fondness naftic life; which was univerfally efteemed the monaftic furest road to heaven. This fondness for ending life. their days in those feats of floth and superstition, not only prevailed among the clergy, and perfons of inferior stations, but those in the highest ranks of life were fo much infected with it, that no fewer than ten kings, and eleven queens, among the Anglo-Saxons, besides nobles without number, in the course of this period, abandoned the world, and retired into monasteries. This pernicious infatuation is feverely censured, and bitterly lamented, by venerable Bede, as destructive to his country, by depriving it of its governors and protectors ". But almost all the other monks and clergy acted a very different part, and employed a thousand arts to persuade kings and nobles to build and enrich monafteries. This, they affured them, was the most effectual way of obtaining the pardon of all their fins, fecuring the divine favour, and procuring all manner of bleffings from heaven.

When Earl Alwine, who was the greatest and Arts of the richest man in England in the reign of Edgar the clergy to Peaceable, confulted St. Ofwald, Bishop of York, great men what he should do to obtain the pardon of to build his fins; the pious prelate made him the follow- teries. ing eloquent harangue: " I befeech your excel-66 lency to believe, that those holy men who have

" Bedæ Epift. ad Egberctum, p. 309, 310.

" retired

" retired from the world, and spend their days in poverty and prayer, are the greatest fa-" vourites of Heaven, and the greatest bleffings cs to the world. It is by their merits that the "divine judgments are averted and changed; " that plagues and famines are removed; that 66 healthful feafons and plentiful harvests are " procured; that states and kingdoms are go-" verned; that prisons are opened, captives " delivered, shipwrecks prevented, the weak " ftrengthened, and the fick healed: that I may " fay all in one word, it is by their merits that "this world, fo full of wickedness, is preserved " from immediate ruin and destruction. I in-" treat you therefore, my dear fon, if you have " any place in your estate fit for that purpose, "that you immediately build a monastery, and " fill it with holy monks, whose prayers will " fupply all your defects, and expiate all your " crimes 12." The building of Ramfey abbey was the consequence of this fine speech. The clergy in this period conftantly inculcated upon the rich, that the world was near an end, and the day of judgment at hand; which procured many donations to the church, as appears from the charters still extant, beginning with these words: - "fince the end of the world is at hand," or words to that purpose 12. What was given by rich men to monafteries, was represented by the monks as contributing greatly to the future

<sup>12</sup> Historia Ramsiens. p. 397. 13 Hickesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 77. repose

repose of the souls of those who gave it, and of • their friends; from whence it became a common practice for all men who had any fense of religion or concern for their falvation, to bequeath a share of their estates at least to their own fouls, as it was called when they gave it to a church or monaftery14. "King Æthelwulf (fays Afferius), "like a wife man, made his testament in writ-" ing, and divided his eftate between his foul " and his children: what he gave to his children " I need not mention; what he gave to his own " foul was as follows," &c. &c. The monks were at great pains to perfuade rich men to become monks themselves, or to make some of their children monks, by which they gained great accessions both of wealth and credit; for when they got poffession of their persons they were certain of their estates. When they could not prevail with great men to abandon the world, during life, they perfuaded them, that it would be of great benefit to their fouls to have their bodies buried in a monastery near the relics of fome famous faint; a privilege which could not be procured but for a very valuable confideration 15. It was also a common practice in those times, for monasteries to grant to some great man one of their estates during his own life, upon condition that it should revert to the monastery at his death, accompanied by fuch another estate ecampon un mairo managara la la coma de la c

<sup>14</sup> Affer. Vita Ælfredi, p.4.

<sup>15</sup> Hiftor. Ramfien. p.460. Hift. Elienf. p.470.

of his family for the good of his foul. Thus did they circumvent, by applying to their covetoufness, those whom they could not delude by other means 16. In a word, there were very few in those times who had either any hopes of heaven or fears of hell, who did not leave a share of their wealth to fome church or monastery. So infatiably covetous were the English clergy of this period, that they were not ashamed to boast of the most infamous impositions on the unhappy laity, as pious and meritorious actions, when they contributed to enrich the church. What extravagant praises are bestowed by the monkish writers on Ætheric, Bishop of Dorchester, in the reign of King Canute, for his dexterous management, in making a Danish nobleman drunk, and buying a fine estate from him for a mere trifle when he was in that condition; because the holy bishop (who deserved to have been severely punished for his knavery) granted that estate to the abbey of Ramsey 17? By these, and various other means, fuch torrents of wealth flowed into the church in the course of this period, that before the end of it the clergy were in possession of much more than one third of the lands of England, besides the tithes of the whole; and of great wealth in money, plate, and moveables of all kinds.

Fond of pilgrim-

The Anglo-Saxons in this period placed much of their religion in performing pilgrimages to

16 Hist. Eliens. p. 458.

17 Id. p. 441.

Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, Rome, and other places, both at home and abroad, that had obtained the reputation of extraordinary fanctity. These pilgrimages, especially to Rome, were enjoined upon finners, as the most satisfactory penances for the greatest crimes, and recommended to faints as the most acceptable fervices to God. Few pious perfons of any rank in those times could die in peace, or think themselves fure of heaven, till they had kiffed the Pope's toe, and vifited the pretended sepulchres of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. " I have been told (fays Canute the Great), that " the apostle Peter had received great authority " from the Lord, and carried the keys of heaven; " and therefore I thought it absolutely neces-" fary to fecure his favour by a pilgrimage to "Rome 18." For fuch reasons, kings, queens, nobles, prelates, monks, nuns, faints, and finners, wife men, and fools, were impatient to undertake thefereligious journies; and all the roads between Rome and England were conftantly crowded with English pilgrims. It appears indeed, that the morals of these superstitious vagabonds, especially of the ladies, were not much improved by thefe peregrinations. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, in a letter which he wrote to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 745. exhorts him, -" to prevent fuch great numbers " of English nuns from going on pilgrimages to Rome; because so many of them lose their

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<sup>18</sup> Spelman. Concil. Britan. t.1. p. 535.

" virtue before they return, that there is hardly a city or town in Lombardy, France, or Gaul, in which there are not fome English women who live by prostitution, to the great reproach of your church of the improbable, that these ladies being certain of a plenary remission of all their sins when they arrived at their journey's end, might think there could be no great harm in adding a little to the number of them by the way.

Great veneration for faints and relics.

An excessive veneration for faints and relics was another remarkable circumstance in the religious principles and practices of the English of this period. William of Malmfoury represents it as the peculiar glory of England in the Anglo-Saxon times, that it abounded more in faints and relics than any other country. "What shall I say " of all our holy bishops, hermits, and abbots? " Is not this whole country fo glorious and reful-" gent with relics, that you can hardly enter a " village of any note, without hearing of fome " new faint, though the names of many of our " English faints have perished for want of writ-"ings"?" There never was a time in which. honours and riches were fo much admired and coveted, as old rags, rotten bones, and rufty nails, &c. were admired and coveted by the religious of this period. These were fent by the greatest princes to each other as the most valuable prefents, preferved by churches and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Spelman. Concil. Britan. t.1. p.241. <sup>20</sup> W. Malmf. p.57. monasteries

monasteries as their most inestimable treasures, deposited in caskets adorned with gold and precious stones, and were never viewed without being adored. " At the death of Abbot Turke-" tul (fays Ingulphus), A.D. 975., the abbey of " Croiland was very rich in relics, which that " holy abbot had received from Henry Emperor " of Germany, Hugh King of France, Louis " Prince of Aquitain, and many other dukes, " earls, nobles, and prelates, when he was " chancellor of England. Among these he had " the greatest veneration for a thumb of the " Apostle St. Bartholomew, which he constantly " carried about him, and with which he figned " himself in all times of dangers, tempests, and "thunders. This most precious relic had been " presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Be-" neventum when he knighted him, and by the " Emperor to Turketul while he was chancellor. " He had also a lock of the hairs of Mary the " mother of God, which the King of France had " given him inclosed in a box of gold; and a " bone of St. Leodegarius the bishop and mar-" tyr, which he had received from the Prince of " Aquitain 21." So great was the rage for relics in this period, especially among the clergy, that they made no fcruple of being guilty of theft, robbery, or almost any crime, to get them into their poffession; and when a monk had the dexterity to fleal the little finger of some famous faint

Ingulphi Hist. p 505.

from another monastery, he was esteemed the greatest and happiest of men among his brethren <sup>22</sup>. If real relics could not be procured, false ones were substituted in their room, and exposed as objects of veneration to the deluded multitudes, without remorse or shame. Still further to increase their veneration for this kind of trumpery, a thousand improbable tales of miracles performed by relics were invented by the monks, and swallowed by the people without the least examination. <sup>23</sup>

Fondness for plalmody.

The public worship of the Anglo-Saxons, and of feveral other nations in this period, confifted chiefly in pfalmody; in which both the clergy and laity took much delight. In some cathedrals and larger monasteries, this exercise was continued both night and day without intermission, by a constant succession of priests and fingers, with whom the laity occasionally joined 24. "Both the ears and minds (fays an " excellent antiquary) of the people of all ranks " were fo much charmed with this inceffant me-" lody of the monks, that it contributed not a " little to increase their zeal and liberality in " building monasteries." This taste for psalmody very much increased after the introduction of organs into churches in the course of the ninth century: " whose pipes of copper (to use the " words of a writer of that age) being winded

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<sup>32</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> Murator. Antiq. Dissertat. 58.

<sup>24</sup> Id. Differt. 56. t.4. p. 772.

" by bellows, and furnished with proper stops and keys, fent forth a most loud and ravishing music, that was heard at a great dif-" tance 25." Even the private devotions of the good people of those times consisted almost entirely in finging a prodigious number of pfalms; which was esteemed the most effectual means of appealing the wrath of Heaven, and making an atonement for their own fins, or the fins of their friends, either living or dead. It was commonly an article in those voluntary affociations called gilds or fraternities, fo frequent among the Anglo-Saxons, "that each mem-" ber should fing two pfalms every day, one for " all the members of the fraternity that were " living, and the other for all that had been 66 members, but were dead; and that at the 66 death of a member, each of the furviving " members should sing fix psalms for the repose " of his foul 26." All kinds of penances might be redeemed by finging a fufficient number of pfalms and pater-nosters. For example, if a penitent was condemned to fast a certain number of days, he might redeem as many of them as he pleafed, at the rate of finging fix pater-nofters, and the 119th pfalm fix times over, for one day's fast 27. In a word, pfalm-finging was a kind of fpiritual cash in those times, and answered the fame purposes in religion that money did in trade,

<sup>25</sup> Hift. Ramsien. p. 420. 26 Hickesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Johnson's Canons, A.D. 963.

Book II.

Not neceffary to make this enumeration more complete. There were many other particulars both in the religious principles and practices of the Anglo-Saxons, which would appear very fingular to their posterity in the present age, though they were common to them with all the other nations of Europe in those times of ignorance and superstition. But there doth not seem to be any necessity for making this enumeration more complete. We have seen enough to convince us of the religious dispositions of our ancestors, and their sincere desires of recommending themselves to the divine savour; and to make us lament, that the means which they were taught to employ for that purpose were not more agreeable to right reason and genuine revelation.

Their love of liberty.

After the account that hath been given of the Anglo-Saxon conflitution in a former chapter, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the love of political liberty, and of a free and legal form of government, may be justly reckoned among the national virtues of the English in this period. This virtue, together with the great and leading principles of their constitution, they derived from their ancestors, the ancient Germans, who are greatly celebrated by the Greek and Roman writers for their love of liberty, and their brave defence of that inestimable blessing 23. Those armies of adventurers which arrived from Germany in quest of settlements in this island, in the fifth and sixth centuries, were composed of high-

fpirited and haughty warriors, who were almost equals, and would admit of no greater degrees of fubordination than they chofe themselves, and thought necessary to the success of their enterprifes. Their conquests, we may be certain, did not abate their haughtiness, or make them more fubmissive to their leaders. For their own honour, after their fettlement, they allowed those leaders to assume the name of kings, and gave them a large proportion of the conquered lands to support their dignity; but they still retained in their own hands the power of making laws, imposing taxes, and determining all national questions of importance, in their national asfemblies, as their ancestors had done in their native feats on the continent 20. Of these inestimable privileges they continued to be infinitely jealous, and to defend them with the most undaunted resolution; and it is to this political iealoufy and refolution of our remote ancestors, that we are indebted for our present free and legal form of government.

Martial valour was the peculiar boast and dif- Their vatinguishing characteristic of the ancient nations lour. of Germany and Scandinavia. The genuine fpirit and fentiments of all these nations are expressed with much energy in the following words of one of their chieftains: "Valour is the most " glorious attribute of man, which endears him

d fuddy centuries were composed of the ba

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c 7. 11, 12.

" to the gods, who never forfake the valiant 30." It was this undaunted, or rather frantic valour, that enabled the northern nations to relift the Roman arms, and at length to overturn the Roman empire. Nor were any of those nations (except the Scandinavians, who were the fcourge of all the countries of Europe for feveral centuries) more renowned for valour than the Saxons. It was the fame of their valour that engaged the unhappy Britons to apply to the Saxons for their protection against the Scots and Picts. This appears from the following expressions in the speech of their ambaffadors: " Most noble Saxons, the " wretched and miferable Britons, worn out by the perpetual incursions of their enemies, having heard of the many glorious victories " which you have obtained by your valour, have ce fent us, their humble suppliants, to implore "your affiftance and protection. - Formerly we " lived in peace and fafety under the protection " of the Romans; and next to them, knowing " none more brave and powerful than you, we " fly for refuge under the wings of your va-" lour 31." The Britons were not mistaken in their high opinion of the valour and martial spirit of the Saxons; who thereby not only repulfed the Scots and Picts, which were fierce and warlike nations, but also subdued the Britons themselves. who called them to their protection.

<sup>30</sup> Tacit. Hift. 1.4. c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. 1. p. 132.

It must, however, be confessed that the Anglo- Valour of Saxons did not retain this part of their national the Anglo-Saxons dicharacter in its full vigour through the whole of minished. this period. For after they had been some time peaceably fettled in England, had embraced the Christian religion in that corrupted form in which it was presented to them, and many of them had contracted a fondness for the monastic life, they loft much of their former martial spirit, and became rather a timid than a warlike people. Venerable Bede, though he was a monk himfelf, and a most religious man, beheld this change in the national character of his countrymen with deep concern, and foretold the fatal confequences with which it would be attended. He called the rage of building monasteries, and embracing the monastic life, which began to prevail in his time, a most pernicious madness, which deprived the country both of foldiers and commanders to defend it from the invasions of its enemies 32. William of Malmsbury also takes notice of this change in the national character of the Anglo-Saxons: "The manners of the English have " been different in different periods. At their " arrival in Britain, they were a fierce, bold, " and warlike people; but after they had em-" braced the Christian religion, they became by "degrees more peaceful in their dispositions; " devotion was then their greatest national vir-" tue, and valour poffeffed only the fecond place

" in their esteem 33." It was this great diminution of the martial spirit of the English that made them fuffer to much from the depredations of the Danes. The difference in this respect between these two nations at length became so great, that the English fled before inferior numbers of the Danes, and could hardly be prevailed upon to meet them in the field of battle on any terms. " How long is it (fays an English au-" thor in the reign of King Ethelred the Un-" ready) fince the English obtained a victory " over their enemies? The pirates are now be-" come fo bold and fearlefs, that one of them " fometimes put ten, fometimes more, fome-" times fewer, of us to flight. O the misery " and worldly shame in which England is in-" volved through the wrath of God! How often " doth two or three troops of Danes drive the " whole English army before them from sea to 66 fea, to our eternal infamy, if we were ca-" pable of feeling shame! But, alas! so abject " are we become, that we worship those who " trample upon us, and load us with indigni-" ties 34." In this last expression, the reverend Bishop (for such this writer was) had probably in his eye that remarkable inftance of the abject fubmission of the English to the insolence of the Danes, which is mentioned by other authors, -"That when an Englishman met a Dane on a " bridge, or in a narrow path, where he could

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<sup>33</sup> W. Malmf. p. 57. 34 Hickefii Dissertat. Epistol. p. 103.

ce not

" not avoid him, he was obliged to fland flill, " with his head uncovered, and in a bowing " posture, as soon as the Dane appeared, and " to remain in that posture till he was out of " fight 35." Nay, the Bishop himself, in this very fermon, gives an example of the brutal infolence of the Danes, and of the spiritless fubmission of the English, which is too indelicate and shocking to be here inserted 35. The truth is, that nothing can be more difficult than to keep a fufficient portion of the gallant and martial spirit alive in a people softened by long tranquillity, and keenly engaged in peaceful pursuits of any kind: nor can any thing be more dangerous than to fuffer that spirit to be extinguished. To this both the ancient Britons and the Anglo-Saxons owed all their miferies and differees. Intrinspose report of the sale

The Danes, who constituted so great a pro- Martial portion of the inhabitants, and were for fome time the predominant people of England in this period, were of as bold, fearless, and intrepid a spirit, as the Saxons had ever been, and rather more fierce and warlike. The histories of almost all the other nations of Europe, as well as of the English, in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, contain the most ample evi-

spirit of the Danes.

throughout which is and time at a vacine confliction

<sup>35</sup> Pontopidan. Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam, t.2.

<sup>36</sup> Sæpenumero decem aut duodecem Dani alternis vicibus uxorem, vel filiam, vel cognatam thayni vitiant, ipfo thayno fpectante, nec prohibente. Sermo Lupi Episcopi, apud Hickesii Thesaur. t. 1. p 103.

dences of this fact. In that period the people of Scandinavia, comprehending the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, breathed nothing but war, and were animated with a most astonishing spirit of enterprise and adventure. By their numerous fleets, they rode triumphant in all the European feas, and carried terror and defolation to the coasts of Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to fay nothing of the East, into which they also penetrated 37. The inhabitants of all these countries, especially of the sea-coasts, lived in continual apprehensions of those dreadful enemies; and it made a part of their daily prayers to be preserved by Providence from their deftructive vifits, 38

Causes of the martial spirit of the Danes.

devices

Many things contributed to kindle this love, or rather rage, for war and martial atchievements in the bosoms of the Scandinavians, in this period. They were Pagans; and those who were the objects of their worship had been famous warriors, whose favour, they imagined, could only be obtained by brave exploits in war. Their admission into the hall of Odin (the father of slaughter, the god of fire and desolation), and all their future happiness, they were taught to believe, depended on the violence of their own death, and on the number of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Pontopidani Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam, 3 tom. 8vo. Lipsiæ et Hafniæ, A.D. 1741.

<sup>38</sup> It was a petition in the Litany of those times,—" A furore "Normannorum libera nos Domine."

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enemies which they had flain in battle 39. This belief inspired them with a contempt of life, a fondness for a violent death, and a thirst for blood, which are happily unknown and appear incredible in the present times 40. Their education was no less martial in its spirit and tendency than their religion. Many of them were born in fleets or camps; and the first objects on which they fixed their eyes were arms, ftorms, battles, blood, and flaughter. Nurfed and brought up in the midst of these terrible objects, they by degrees became familiar, and at length delight-Their childhood and their dawn of youth were wholly fpent in running, leaping, climbing, fwimming, wreftling, boxing, fighting, and fuch exercifes as hardened both their fouls and bodies and disposed and fitted them for the toils of war. As foon as they began to lifp, they were taught to fing the exploits and victories of their anceftors; their memories were stored with nothing but tales of warlike and piratical expeditions, of defeating their enemies, burning cities, plundering provinces, and of the wealth and glory acquired by brave exploits. With fuch an education, it was no wonder that their youthful hearts foon began to beat high with martial arin fair of felf qualiforming a Thinappeared

sheallance.

Northern Antiq. t. 1. c. 6.

Terte populi, quos despicit Arcos,
Felices errore suo! quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Lucan, l. 1.

dour; and that they early became impatient to grasp the sword and spear, and to mingle with their fathers, brothers, and companions, in the bloody conflict. This they also knew was the only road to riches, honours, the fmiles of the fair, and every thing that was defirable. To all these motives to martial and piratical expeditions, arifing from religion and education, another still more powerful, if possible, was added. This was necessity, occasioned by the barren uncultivated flate of their country; which obliged them to feek for those provisions by piracy and plunder abroad, which they could not find at home. The fituation of their country alfo, confifting of islands, and of a great extent of feacoast on the continent, naturally led them to the fludy of maritime affairs, which have a direct tendency to make men hardy and courageous, familiar with toils and dangers. All these motives co-operating (which perhaps may never be again united), rendered the Danes of the middle ages a most fearless, undaunted, and warlike people, and gave their courage some remarkable properties, which merit a little of our attention.

Properties of the martial fpirit of the Danes.

The valour of the Danes was boaftful and audacious, attended with much presumption and felf-confidence. This appeared by a degree of boldness and daring in their words and actions which to other nations would have seemed the greatest rashness. It was one of their martial laws,—" That a Dane who wished to acquire "the character of a brave man, should always

" attack

" attack two enemies, fland firm and receive "the attack of three, retire only one pace from "four, and fly from no fewer than five 41." The histories of those times are full of examples of the most bold, desperate, and often sucessful, darings of the Danes; of which none is better attefted, or more extraordinary, than the following one, which is related by many of our own writers. A bloody and obstinate battle was fought near Stamford, 24th October A.D. 1066., between Harold King of England and Harald Harefager King of Norway, in which the Norwegians were at length obliged to retire, and the English began to purfue with great eagerness. But a total stop was put to their pursuit for feveral hours by the desperate boldness of a single man. This was a Dane of a gigantic stature, enormous ftrength, and undaunted courage; who taking his station on Stamford bridge, killed no fewer than forty of the purfuers with his battleaxe, and was not killed at last but by a stratagem 42. This high prefumptuous spirit of the Danes made them violent, vindictive, and impatient of the least affront, or (in modern language) men of strict and jealous honour. To call a Dane a nithing, was like fetting fire to gunpowder, and infantly excited fuch a flame of rage, as nothing but his own blood or the blood of the offender could extinguish 43. By this estell rulinels in Rytosiums, and hair leveral

<sup>41</sup> Bartholin. Caufæ Contemptæ a Danis Mortis, c. 7.

W. Malmf. in Harold. Brompton. p. 958.
Bartholin. c. 7. Northern Antiq. c. 9.

means duels and fingle combats were as frequent and bloody, and fought on almost as trifling occations, among the barbarous and Pagan Danes, as they are among the politest Christians of the prefent age. It was the same spirit that rendered the Danes of this period intolerably haughty and infolent to those whom they had subdued, and made them exact the most humiliating tokens of fubmission from them. Some examples of the infolence of the Danes to the English, while they were under their dominion, have been already given; to which feveral others might be added; but the following one will be fufficient to convince the reader, that it was carried to the most capricious height. If an Englishman presumed to drink in the presence of a Dane, without his express permission, it was esteemed so great a mark of difrespect, that nothing but his instant death could expiate. Nay, the English were so intimidated, that they would not adventure to drink, even when they were invited, until the Danes had pledged their honour for their fafety; which introduced the custom of pledging each other in drinking; of which some vestiges are ftill remaining among the common people in the north of England, where the Danes were most predominant 44. This infolence of the Danes made fo deep an impression on the imaginations of the English, and was painted by them to their posterity in such lively colours, that for several

<sup>44</sup> Pontopidan. Gesta et Vestigia Danorum, t. 2. p. 209.

ages after a proud imperious tyrant was called a Lord Dane. 45

The martial spirit of the Pagan Danes was at- Fondness tended with a most prodigious prodigality of life, of the and fondness for a violent death. The many a violent strange accounts that are given of this in their death. ancient histories would appear incredible, if they were not fo well attefted. On receiving mortal wounds in battle, they were fo far from uttering groans and lamentations, or exhibiting any marks of fear or forrow, that they commonly began to laugh and fing 46. These expressions of joy at the approach of a violent death, which were fincere and unaffected, proceeded from the native and acquired boldness of their ferocious spirits,from their ardent love of military fame, -and from the thoughts of those endless scenes of fighting, feafting, and caroufing, which they expected in the hall of Odin 47. The furviving friends of those who fell in battle, after having fought bravely, and killed a number of their enemies, were fo far from bewailing their fate, that they rejoiced in their death, as an event equally happy to themselves and honourable to their family. The famous Siward, a Danish Earl of Northumberland, being told that his favourite fon was killed in a battle against the Scots, asked, with much anxiety, whether his wounds were behind or before? and being answered that they DOWNERS OF THE PARTY OF THE OT

<sup>45</sup> Fabian Chron. c. 198.

<sup>47</sup> Id. ibid. 1.2. c. II.

<sup>46</sup> Bartholin. c. 1, 2.

were all before, he cried out, in a transport of joy-" Now I am perfectly happy! that was a " death worthy of me and my fon 48." Those Danish warriors who had courted a violent death in many battles, and had been fo unfortunate as not to find it, became unhappy and discontented at the approach of old age, full of the most dreadful apprehensions that they should die of fome difeafe, and thereby be excluded from the fociety of heroes, in the hall of Odin. To prevent this, they either perfuaded some of their friends to dispatch them, or put a violent end to their own lives 40. Starcather, a celebrated Danish captain, who had spent his whole life in arms and combats, was so unfortunate as not to meet with any person who had strength and courage enough to beat out his brains. As foon as he observed his fight begin to fail, he became very disconsolate, and apprehensive that he should be so unhappy as to die in his bed. To avoid so great a calamity, he put a gold chain of confiderable value about his neck, which he declared he would beftow upon the first brave man he could meet with, who would do him the fayour to cut off his head: nor was it long before he met with one who did him that friendly office, and won his chain 50. Even after the Danes embraced the Christian religion, and were thereby deprived of the religious motives to prefer a violent death, their warriors continued for fome

<sup>48</sup> Hen. Hunt. 1.6. c. 24.

<sup>50</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Bartholin. l. 1. c.4.

time to esteem that the most desirable kind of exit, and to abhor the thoughts of dying of lingering difeafes, and in their beds. Earl Siward. already mentioned (who was as good a Christian as any Dane could be, who had fpent his whole life in scenes of slaughter), being seized with a dyfentery in his old age, and fenfible that his end was drawing near, felt much uneafiness about the manner of his death, of which he was quite ashamed: " Alas! (said he,) that I have " escaped death in so many battles, to yield up " my life in this tame difgraceful manner, like " a cow! I befeech you, my dear friends, drefs " me in my impenetrable coat of mail, gird my " trusty fword about my body, place my helmet " on my head, my shield in my left hand, and " my gilded battle-axe in my right, that I may " die in the dress at least of a warrior, since I " cannot have the happiness to die in battle." All this was done, and he expired with fome degree of honour and fatisfaction 51. Chriftianity, however, by degrees, abated this unnatural furious spirit of the Danes, made them less prodigal of life, and less fond of a violent death, to their own advantage, and the repose of the reft of mankind

The martial spirit of the Pagan Danes exerted Fondness and spent itself chiefly in piratical expeditions; for piratito which they were exceedingly and univerfally ditions. addicted. This was owing to the fituation of

51 Bartholin. l. 1. c. 4. Hen. Hunt. l. 6. c. 26.

their country, and the ordinary progress of society from the paftoral to the predatory life. For nations are first hunters, then shepherds; and when their numbers are too much increased. to live by these employments, they next become robbers or pirates for fome time, before they commence husbandmen and manufacturers. Thus much at least is certain, that the Danes were fo univerfally a people of pirates, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, that a Dane and a pirate were fynonymous terms in the languages of feveral nations, and particularly in that of the Anglo-Saxons 52. In those times all the men of Denmark conftantly wore the drefs of failors, and there were fometimes greater numbers of Danes actually at fea than on shore 53. All these were engaged in piracy; which was purfued, not only by persons of inferior rank, but by kings, princes, and nobles, as the most honourable of all professions 54. Some of these pirates acquired fo much wealth and fame, and had fuch numerous fleets at their command, that they were called fea-kings; and though they were not mafters of one foot of land, made the greatest nations and most powerful monarchs tremble 55. " Helghi (fays an ancient historian) was a hero of invincible strength and valour, and spent " his whole life in piracy. He plundered and

" depopulated the coasts of all the surrounding

<sup>52</sup> Chron. Saxon. paffim.

<sup>54</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Northern Antiquit. t.1. c. 10.

Bartholin. 1. 2. c.9.

<sup>&</sup>quot; countries,

" countries, by his fleets, and juftly acquired "the honourable title of a fea-king 56." The introduction of Christianity by degrees abated the violence, and at length abolished the practice of piracy among the Danes, both of England and Scandinavia: for both the laws and actions of the Christian pirates of this period were humane and gentle, in comparison of those of their Pagan predeceffors. 57 manufacture of paid of the 21

The most pernicious property of the martial Cruelty of spirit of the Pagan Danes was its cruelty; which the Danes prompted them to many deeds of horror, and made them the dread and deteffation of other nations. These cruelties of the Danes are painted in the ftrongest colours by our most ancient historians, who lived in or nearest to those times. "The cruel Guthrum (fays one of these histo-" rians) arrived in England A. D. 878., at the " head of an army of Pagan Danes, no less cruel " than himfelf, who, like inhuman favages, de-" ftroved all before them with fire and fword, involving cities, towns, and villages, with their " inhabitants, in devouring flames; and cutting those in pieces with their battle-axes who at-" tempted to escape from their burning houses. "The tears, cries, and lamentations of men, women, and children, made no impressions on their unrelenting hearts; even the most tempting bribes, and the humblest offers of " becoming their flaves, had no effect. All the

esbumum ?

<sup>56</sup> Sueno Agonis Hift. Den. c.t.

<sup>57</sup> Bartholin. . 2. c. 9.

" towns through which they paffed exhibited " the most deplorable scenes of misery and deso-" lation; as, venerable old men lying with their "throats cut before their own doors; the streets covered with the bodies of young men and children, without heads, legs, or arms; and of " matrons and virgins, who had been first pub-" licly dishonoured, and then put to death 58." It is faid to have been a common pastime among these barbarians, to tear the infants of the English from the breasts of their mothers, toss them up into the air, and catch them on the point of their spears as they were falling down 59. One Oliver, a famous pirate of those times, was much celebrated for his humanity, and acquired the furname of Barnakall, or child-preserver; because he denied his followers this diversion of toffing infants on their spears 60. Even after the Danes and Anglo-Saxons had embraced the Christian religion, they long retained too great a tincture of their former ferocity. It is a sufficient proof of this, that the horrid operation of scalping, efteemed cruel in the favages of North America, was occasionally performed by these nations on their enemies towards the end of this period. 66 Earl Godwin (fays an ancient historian) intercepted Prince Alfred, the brother of Edward " the Confessor, at Gilford, in his way to Lon-"don, feized his person, and defeated his

J. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. z. p. 536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Anglia Sacra, t.2. p. 135. Bartholin. l.2. c.9. p. 457.

<sup>&</sup>quot; guards;

" guards; fome of which be imprisoned, fome " he fold for flaves, fome he blinded by pulling

" out their eyes, some he maimed by cutting off

"their hands and feet, some he tortured by

" pulling off the skin of their heads, and, by

" various torments, put about fix hundred men

" to death "."

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were of a focial Social difdisposition, and delighted much in forming themfelves into fraternities and gilds of various kinds, Saxons and which were cemented by frequent convivial meet- Danes. ings and compotations. By the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, every freeman who was the head of a family, was obliged to be a member of the decennary or neighbourship in which he dwelt; and all the members of the neighbourship were pledges for each others good behaviour to the public. This created a connection between them, and gave them an interest in each others concerns, quite unknown in the present times; and these ties of union were greatly strengthened by their eating and drinking together at the common table of the neighbourship 62. Besides those legal focieties, many voluntary ones were formed between perfons of fimilar tempers, inclinations, and ways of life, for their mutual fafety, comfort, and advantage. Some of these voluntary fraternities or fodolitia were composed of ecclesiaftics, and fome of laymen, and fome of both

<sup>61</sup> Hift. Elienf. apud Gale, l.2. c. 32.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson's Canons, A.D. 693. c. 6.

clergy and laity; and the flatutes of all thefe different kinds are still extant, and have been published 63. From these statutes, especially of the lay fraternities, it appears, that one great object of them was, to promote good fellowship and frequent festive meetings among their members; for the forfeitures are generally appointed to be paid in honey and malt, to be made into mead and ale for the entertainment of the fraternity 64. These convivial assemblies, in which the Anglo-Saxons and Danes delighted fo much, were productive of fome good effects, and contributed to strengthen the ties of friendship, and restrain their natural ferocity within some decent bounds; very fevere fines being imposed on those who were guilty of giving offenfive language to any member of the fraternity at the common table, or neglected to perform any of those friendly offices which were required by their flatutes 65. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that the frequent festive meetings of these fraternities contributed very much to increase their vicious habits of excessive drinking, to which they were too much addicted. The very laws that were made by some of these fraternities to restrain excesses of this kind, are a sufficient proof that they were allowed to go confiderable lengths in this way, without incurring any blame; for these laws were made only against such shame-

DIGREE

<sup>63</sup> Hickesii Epist. Dissertat. p. 20, 21, 22. 64 Id. ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Id. ibid. Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 16.

ful degrees of intoxication as are not to be named. 66

Both the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, and all the Credulity other nations of Europe in this dark period, were of the credulous to a degree that is quite aftonishing. Saxons This is evident from every remaining monument and Danes. of their hiftory. What prodigious numbers of miracles do we meet with in every monkish chronicle; and how ridiculous are many of thefe miracles! The following one, which is related with much folemnity, as a most unquestionable fact, by William of Malmfbury, the most fensible of our ancient historians, may serve as a specimen of these monkish miracles, though others ftill more ridiculous might be produced. This miracle Malmfbury relates in the following manner, in the very words, as he fays, of one of the perfons on whom it was wrought: "I Ethelbert, " a finner, will give a true relation of what hap-" pened to me on the day before Christmas, " A. D. 1012., in a certain village where there " was a church dedicated to St. Magnus the " martyr, that all men may know the danger of " disobeying the commands of a priest. Fifteen " young women, and eighteen young men, of " which I was one, were dancing and finging in " the church-yard, when one Robert, a prieft, was performing mass in the church; who sent " us a civil message, intreating us to defist from " our diversion, because we disturbed his devo-

the world publishing throw and

<sup>66</sup> Bartholin. de Causis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, c.8.

"tion by our noise. But we impiously difre-" garded his request; upon which the holy " man, inflamed with anger, prayed to God and St. Magnus, that we might continue "dancing and finging a whole year without in termission. His prayers were heard. A young man, the fon of a prieft, named John, took " his fifter, who was finging with us, by the " hand, and her arm dropped from her body " without one drop of blood following. But " notwithstanding this disaster, she continued to " dance and fing with us a whole year. During " all that time we felt no inconveniency from " rain, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, or weariness, and neither our shoes nor our clothes wore "out. Whenever it began to rain, a magnifi-cent house was erected over us by the power of the Almighty. By our continual dancing we " wore the earth fo much, that by degrees we "funk into it up to the knees, and at length up to the middle. When the year was ended, "Bishop Hubert came to the place, dissolved the invisible ties by which our hands had been fo long united, absolved us, and reconciled us to St. Magnus. The priest's daughter, who "had loft her arm, and other two of the young women, died away immediately; but all the reft fell into a profound fleep, in which they continued three days and three nights; after which they arose, and went up and down the world publishing this true and glorious " miracle, and carrying the evidences of its. 66 truth

"truth along with them, in the continual shaking " of their limbs "." A formal deed, relating the particulars, and attesting the truth of this ridiculous ftory, was drawn up and fubscribed by Bishop Peregrine, the successor of Hubert, A. D. 1013.; and we may be certain, that a fact fo well attested was univerfally believed. Many of the monkish miracles in this period were as trifling as they were ridiculous, and pretended to be wrought for the most frivolous purposes. As the famous St. Dunstan was one day celebrating mass, a dove came down from heaven, and hovered over his head, which fo much engaged the attention of all the people and clergy, that none of them had the presence of mind to assist the faint in putting off his pontifical robes when mass was ended. He therefore put them off himself; but instead of falling to the ground, they hung fuspended in the air, that the pious meditations of the holy man might not be difturbed by their noise in falling 69. Not a few of the miracles that were published by the monks, and believed by the people, of this period, were of the most pernicious and hurtful nature; especially those that were wrought by the Welsh faints, who were represented as more touchy and passionate than any other faints, even after they were in heaven 60. Many other evidences might be produced, if it were necessary, of the extreme

rowning with a release to which are 67 W. Malmf. p. 38. l. 2. c. 10. 68 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 77.

<sup>69</sup> Girald. Cambrenf. Itinerar. Cambriæ, 1.2. c.7.

credulity of the people of England, and of all the other countries of Europe, befides this of believing the most absurd tales of ridiculous, frivolous, and pernicious miracles; for they received with equal readiness the no less monstrous relations of the monks concerning visions, ghosts, revelations, and inchantments. In a word, it seems to have been impossible for the priests of this period to invent any thing that the people would not believe upon their word.

Curiofity
of the
AngloSaxons
and Danes.

credulity

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were as curious as they were credulous, and were at much expence and pains to penetrate into futurity, to difcover what was to befall them, and what would be the iffue of their various undertakings. This made them the dupes of those wretches who pretended to be skilful in the arts of fortune-telling and divination, who were courted, careffed, and rewarded, by the greatest princes, as well as by the common people. These admired magicians and fortune-tellers were commonly old women; for whom the Anglo-Saxons, as well as their anceftors the ancient Germans, entertained a very great veneration, and in whom they imagined fomething divine refided 7°. As the Danes were more ignorant, and continued longer Pagans than the English; so they were still greater dupes to those wrinkled dispensers of good and bad fortune, who travelled with the retinue and state of queens, and were every where treated with

the highest respect. One of them is thus defcribed in an ancient Danish history: " There " was a certain old woman named Heida, who " was famous for her skill in divination and the " arts of magic, who frequented public enter-" tainments, predicting what kind of weather " would be the year after, and telling men and " women their fortunes. She was constantly attended by thirty men fervants, and waited " upon by fifteen young maidens 71." Princes and great men, when they invited these venerable hags to their houses, to consult them about the fuccess of their designs, the fortunes of themfelves and children, or any future event which they defired to know, made great preparations for their honourable reception, and entertained them in the most respectful manner. This and feveral other curious particulars, relating to the manners of those times, appear from the following genuine description of one of these interviews: " There was in the fame country an old " woman named Thorbiorga, the only furvivor " of nine fifters, fortune-tellers, who was very " famous for her knowledge of futurity, and " frequented public entertainments for the exer-" cife of her art when she was invited. Earl "Thorchill, who had the greatest authority in that country, and was most desirous to know " when the famine and fickness, which then " raged, would come to an end, fent meffenus's milk, and of a dila which con-

" gers to invite Thorbiorga to his house, after " he had made all the preparations which were " usual for the reception of such an honourable " guest. In particular, a feat was prepared for " the prophetefs, raifed fome steps above the " other feats, and covered with a cuthion stuffed " with hens' feathers. When she arrived on an " evening, conducted by the messengers, she was " dreffed in a gown of green cloth, buttoned " from top to bottom; had a string of glass " beads about her neck, and her head covered " with the skin of a black lamb, lined with the " skin of a white cat: her shoes were made of a " calf's skin, with the hair on it, tied with "thongs, and fastened with brass buttons: on " her hands fhe had a pair of gloves of a white " cat's skin, with the fur inward: about her " waift she wore a Hunlandic girdle, at which " hung a bag, containing her magical inftru-" ments; and she supported her feeble limbs by 6 leaning on a ftaff adorned with many knobs of brass. As soon as she entered the hall, the " whole company arose, as it became them, and " faluted her in the most respectful manner; which she returned as she thought proper. " Earl Thorchill then advanced, and taking her " by the hand, conducted her to the feat pre-" pared for her. After some time spent in con-" versation, a table was set before her, covered " with many dishes; but she eat only of a pot-" tage of goat's milk, and of a dish which con-" fifted of the hearts of various animals. When " the THE L

" the table was removed, Thorchill humbly " approached the prophetefs, and afked her " what she thought of his house, and of his fa-" mily; and when she would be pleased to tell " them what they defired to know. To this she " replied, that she would tell them nothing that " evening, but would fatisfy them fully next " day. Accordingly, on the day after, when she " had put all her implements of divination in "proper order, she commanded a maiden " named Godreda, to fing the magical fong called " Vardlokur; which she did with so clear and " fweet a voice that the whole company were " ravished with her music, and none so much as "the prophetess; who cried out, Now I know " many things concerning this famine and fick-" ness which I did not know before. This famine " will be of short continuance, and plenty will " return with the next feafon, which will be " favourable; and the fickness also will shortly " fly away. As for you, my lovely maid God-" reda, you shall be married to a nobleman of the " highest rank, and become the happy mother " of a numerous and flourishing family. After " this the whole company approached the " prophetess one by one, and asked her what " questions they pleased; and she told them " every thing that they defired to know 72." What a striking picture is this of the most eager curiofity and unfuspecting fimplicity on the one

<sup>72</sup> Erin's Rauga Saga, apud Bartholin. p. 691.

hand, and of the most consummate cunning on the other! After the Anglo-Saxons and Danes embraced the Christian religion, their veneration for the persons, and considence in the predictions, of these impostors, gradually diminished; for the Christian clergy were commanded by the canons, "to preach very fre"quently against diviners, forcerers, auguries,
"omens, charms, incantations, and all the filth
"of the wicked, and dotages of the Gentiles 13."
By the laws of the church very heavy penances, and by the laws of the state very severe punishments, were inflicted both on those who practised these delusive arts, and on those who consulted them. 14

Hospitality of the Anglo-Saxons.

Hospitality may be justly reckoned among the national virtues of the Anglo-Saxons. This virtue they derived from their ancestors the ancient Germans: "For in social entertainments and hospitality, no nation was ever more liberal. They received all comers without exception into their houses, and entertained them in the best manner their circumstances could afford. When all their provisions were consumed, they conducted their guests to the next house, without any invitation, where they were received with the same frankness, and entertained with the same generosity "." After the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, their natural

Johnson's Canons, A.D. 747. c. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Spelman. Concil. t.1. p.294—515.
75 Tacit. de Morib. German. c.21.

dispositions to hospitality were encouraged and strengthened by religious motives; for the Anglo-Saxon clergy were commanded by the canons to practife hospitality themselves, and to recommend the practice of it very frequently and earnestly to their people 76. The English kings in this period fpent a confiderable portion of their revenues in entertaining strangers, and their own nobility and clergy, particularly at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitfuntide 77. The English nobility, in imitation of their princes, confumed the greatest part of their large eftates in a rude abundant kind of hospitality; of which all who thought proper were welcome to partake 78. Monasteries, in those times, were a kind of public-houses, where travellers and ftrangers of all ranks were lodged and entertained.

Chaftity in their youth, and conjugal fidelity Their after marriage, may also be numbered among the chastity national virtues of the Anglo-Saxons. Their gal fidelity. ancestors, the ancient Germans, were famous for both these virtues. "The intercourse between " the fexes among them did not commence till " both had arrived at full maturity of age and " ftrength. The laws of matrimony were ob-" ferved with great strictness. Examples of adul-" tery were extremely rare, and punished with

much feverity. The hufband of an adulterefs,

<sup>76</sup> Spelman. Concil. t. 1. p. 276. 601.

<sup>78</sup> W.Malmf. p.58. 77 Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 199.

" in the prefence of her relations, cut off her " hair, stripped her almost naked, turned her out of his house, and whipped her from one " end of the village to the other. A woman " who had been thus exposed, never recovered " her character; and neither youth, beauty, nor " riches could ever procure her another huf-" band 79." The Anglo-Saxons were much confirmed in these virtues, which they derived from their ancestors, by the precepts of Christianity, after they embraced that religion. It cannot, however, be denied, that the imprudent zeal of the Christian clergy, in attempting to carry this virtue to a greater height than the laws of nature, and the good of fociety, will admit, had a very bad effect on the manners of the people, especially of the ecclesiastics, in this respect. By endeavouring to preserve virginity, they destroyed chastity, and gave birth to many unnatural vices, which must not be mentioned 80. The Danish foldiers, who were quartered upon the English in the reigns of Athelstan and several of his fuccesfors, being idle, infolent, and debauched, corrupted many of the English women, both married and unmarried, by dreffing better than the Englishmen, and by other arts 81. By these and some other means, this virtue declined fo much among the people of England, that before the end of this period very few veftiges of

<sup>79</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 18, 19, 20.

<sup>30</sup> Vide Wilkensii Concilia, t. 1. p. 118, &c.
31 Chron. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. 1. p. 547.

their ancient innocence and modefly remained; and this diffolution of manners is reprefented, both by the historians and divines of those times, as one of the chief causes of their ruin. 82

The Anglo-Saxons, as well as their anceftors Fondness the ancient Germans, were remarkable for the for their families warmth of their affections to their family and and relarelations 83. But these affections, which are so tions. amiable when kept within due bounds, were by them carried to excess; and every family or clan formed a kind of combination, which adopted all the passions and prosecuted all the quarrels. of its particular members, however unjust and lawless, not against the offender only, but against his whole family. This gave occasion to family feuds and bickerings, which were attended with manifold inconveniencies. To restrain these private wars between great families, which disturbed the public tranquillity, and prevented the regular course of justice, many laws were made, particularly by King Edmund, who reigned from A. D. 940. to A. D. 946. 84 By one of these laws it is declared, that a murderer shall alone be obnoxious to the refentment of the relations of him whom he had murdered, and not his whole family, as formerly; and that if any of thefe relations take vengeance on any other than the murderer, he shall forfeit all his goods, and

 <sup>82</sup> W.Malmf. p. 58. Sermo Lupi, apud Hickefii Differtat. Epift.
 102. 83 Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 21.

<sup>84</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxonice, p. 73.

be profecuted as an enemy to the king and all his friends. By another, a method is fettled for compromifing all disputes between the family of the murderer and that of the person killed, in an amicable manner. These and other laws, together with the great calamities which befel the English in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, and destroyed many noble families, so much relaxed the ties of blood, that Bishop Lupus, who flourished towards the end of that unhappy reign, complains,-" That in his time relations had " little more attachment to one another than to " ftrangers; and that the natural affection of reparents to children, and of children to pa-" rents, and of brothers to each other, was very " much diminished "5." So much did the manners of the English change in this particular in the course of this period!

Vices of the Anglo-Saxons. The English reader, it is hoped, will not be much offended, though he is not presented in this place with a very minute detail of the vices of his ancestors. There seems to be no necessity for this; and as it is an unpleasant subject, it shall be dispatched in as few words as possible.

Frequent murders. We have good reason to believe, that bloodshed and murder were very frequent among a people so brave, sierce, and passionate, as the Anglo-Saxons and Danes; especially when we consider, that they were always armed; and that a certain price was set upon the limbs and lives

<sup>86</sup> Sermo Lupi, apud Hickesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 101.

of all the members of fociety, from the fovereign to the flave. 86

The great propenfity of the Saxons, and the Theft. still greater propensity of the Danes, to piracy, hath been already mentioned. Both thefe nations were also much addicted to theft and robbery. This appears from every part of their history, and is evident from all their laws, which contain a prodigious number of regulations for preventing or punishing these crimes. 57

The prodigious multiplicity of oaths among Perjury. the Anglo-Saxons greatly diminished their folemnity, and gave occasion to much perjury; which is reprefented by their own writers as one of their national vices 53. This multiplicity of oaths in criminal causes was owing to the great number of compurgators required by law, which in fome cases amounted to forty or fifty. In civil causes, each party endeavoured to bring as great a number of witnesses as possible into the field, which were drawn up like two little armies, confifting fometimes of a thousand on one fide. 89

Bribing judges, and even kings, to influence Bribery. them in their decisions of law-fuits, seems to have been a very common practice among the Anglo-Saxons in this period, especially towards

<sup>86</sup> Sermo Lupi, apud Hickefii Dissertat, Epist. p. 101.

<sup>87</sup> Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ, paffim.

<sup>88</sup> Hickesii Dissertat. Epist. p. 104, 105.

<sup>89</sup> Historia Eliensis, c. 35.

its conclusion. Many of these infamous transactions are related by our ancient historians as common occurrences, without the least mark of furprife or difapprobation. " Nay, Edward the Confessor, notwithstanding all his boasted fanctity, is not ashamed to mention (in an award of his which is still extant) a handsome bribe which he had received from one of the parties, as one of the grounds of his decision. 91

Tyranny and oppreffion.

Tyranny, cruelty, and oppression of their inferiors, were prevailing vices of the great men among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons towards the end of this period, when a kind of ariftocracy had taken place. "The poor and indigent are " circumvented and cruelly treated; nay, their " own persons, and those of their children, are " often feized by force, and fold for flaves. "Widows are unjuftly compelled to marry contrary to their inclinations; or if they re-" fufe, are cruelly oppressed, and reduced to " mifery "?." As the Godwin family, in particular, had become too great for fubjects; fo the fons of that family were guilty of the most outrageous acts of cruelty and oppression. "When they beheld any country-feat that " pleafed their fancy, they gave directions to " their followers to murder the proprietor of it " and his whole family, in the night, and then " obtained a grant of the house and the estate.

<sup>90</sup> Hift. Ramfien. c. 114. Hift. Elienfis, c. 42.

<sup>92</sup> Hickesii Epist. Dissertat. p. 100. 91 Hift. Ramfien. c. 113. 11

"Yet these were the men who were the judges

" and rulers of the land." 93

Intemperance and excess in eating and drink- Intempeing are acknowledged by all their ancient writers rance in to have been the most prevailing vices both of drinking. the Anglo-Saxons and Danes. "The nobility " (fays William of Malmfbury) were much ad-" dicted to luft and gluttony; but excessive "drinking was the common vice of all ranks " of people, in which they fpent whole nights 46 and days without intermission 94." All their meetings terminated in riotous excessive drinking, not excepting even their religious festivals; on which they used to drink large draughts of liquor, to the honour of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other faints 95. Thus, when King Edmund I. celebrated the festival of St. Augustin, the apostle of the English, at Puckle church in Gloucestershire, 26th May A. D. 946., with all his courtiers and nobility, they were fo overpowered with liquor, that they beheld their fovereign engaged in a difgraceful ftruggle with a lawlefs ruffian, by whom he was at last murdered, without having either strength or presence of mind to give him the least affiftance 66. Edgar the Peaceable, who mounted the throne about nine years after the death of Edmund, endeavoured to give some check to these

<sup>93</sup> Hen. Hunt. 1.6. p. 210. 9+ W. Malmf. 1.3. p. 58.

<sup>95</sup> Bartholin. 1.2. c. 12. Northern Antiquities, t. 1. p. 311.

<sup>96</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c. 7.

shameful excesses, which were productive of many mischiefs. One of his regulations to this purpose is so curious that it merits a place in history. It was the custom in those times, that a whole company drunk out of one large veffel, which was handed about from one to another, every one drinking as much as he thought proper. This custom occasioned frequent quarrels, some alleging, that others drank a greater quantity of the liquor than fell to their share; and at other times fome of the company compelling others to drink more than they inclined. To prevent these quarrels, Edgar commanded the drinking-veffels to be made with knobs of brafs, or fome other metal, at certain distances from each other; and decreed, that no person, under a certain penalty, should either drink himself, or compel another to drink, more than from one of these nobs or pegs to another, at one draught 97. This shows in what a serious light drinking was viewed even by government, in this period. Many other laws of drinking may be feen in the work quoted below. 98

These vices not universal.

But it is now time to put an end to this unpleafant subject, which I shall finish with the candid observation of the most sensible and impartial of our ancient historians, at the conclusion of his character of the Anglo-Saxons. Though these vices were too general, they

The water special in the state of the

<sup>97</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c. 8. p. 31.

<sup>98</sup> Bartholin. de Causis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, p. 133, &c.

" were not universal. For I know that many

" of the English clergy in those times pursued " the plain paths of piety and virtue; and that

" not a few of the laity of all ranks pleafed God

" by their conversations. Let no man there-

" fore be difpleafed with what I have faid, fince

"I have not involved the innocent and guilty in

" the fame difgrace." 99

So many of the remarkable customs of the Remark-Anglo-Saxons and Danes who inhabited Eng- able cufland in this period, have been occasionally men- the Antioned in this and the preceding chapters of this glo-Saxbook, that little remains to be faid on that fub- Danes. ject in this place. That the reader, however, may not be disappointed in his expectations, it may not be improper to take notice, in a few words,—of their modes of address, and expresfions of respect and civility,—their manner of treating the fair fex,—their ceremonies of marriage, their methods of education,-rites of fepulture, - customs in peace and war, - the retinues and equipages of the great, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes appear to have Rude and been no great admirers of a respectful polite ad-unpolished dress, but rather rude and haughty in their de- address. portment. This is acknowledged by their own writers, who frankly confess, that the French in those times very much excelled them, and all the other nations of Europe, in politeness and elegance of manners 100. They represent it as a

fortunate circumstance in the life of Egbert, the first English monarch, and also of the celebrated St. Dunstan, that they had both resided some time in France, and had there acquired an eafy engaging addrefs, quite unknown in their own country 10. The Welsh appear to have been equally unpolifhed in this period, fince there was a necessity for making a law, that none of the courtiers should give the queen a blow, or fnatch any thing with violence out of her hands, under the penalty of forfeiting her majefty's protection 102. It would be easy to produce many examples of rudeness and indelicacy that were established by law, and practised even in courts of justice (if they were not unbecoming the purity that ought to be observed in history), which would hardly be believed in the prefent age. That example of this which the learned reader will find below, in the Latin language, will be a fufficient specimen, and would not have found a place here, if it had not been already published by a reverend and respectable author, after mature deliberation 103. But though the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Weish, and other nations who inhabited Britain in this period, were in general indelicate and unpolished in their

W. Malmf. l. 2. c. 1. J. Wallingford, apud Gale, l. 1. p. 543.

<sup>102</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p.11. l.1. c.8.

<sup>103</sup> Si mulier stuprata lege cum viro agere velit, et si vir factum pernegaverit, mulier, membro virili sinistra prehenso, et dextra reliquiis sanctorum imposita, juret super illas, quod is per vim se isto membro vitiaverit. Leges Wallice, p. 85.

manners; yet we may be certain, that inferiors approached their fuperiors with gestures which expressed submission; that persons of condition accosted each other with tokens of respect, and relations with marks of friendship. For all these affections and feelings being natural to mankind, the expressions of them are also natural and univerfal. We have already feen the humiliating tokens of fubmission which the imperious Danes exacted from the English, with which it is probable all flaves approached their mafters; and many examples of friends kiffing and embracing each other at meeting occur in the history of those times 104. As both the Anglo-Saxons and Danes were exceedingly superstitious, the clergy were the chief objects of their veneration; and we fometimes hear of kings, queens, and nobles, kneeling, and even proftrating themselves on the ground, before their spiritual guides, to receive their commands or benedictions. 105

The English in this period treated the fair fex Respectful with a degree of attention and respect which behaviour could hardly have been expected from a people fex. fo unpolished in their manners. This way of thinking and acting they undoubtedly derived from their ancestors the ancient Germans; who not only admired and loved their women on account of their personal charms; but entertained a kind of religious veneration for them as the peculiar favourites of heaven, and confulted

to the fair

them as oracles 106. Agreeable to this, we find fome of the Anglo-Saxon ladies were admitted into their most august assemblies, and great attention paid to their opinions; and fo confiderable was their influence in the most important affairs, that they were the chief instruments of introducing the Christian religion into almost all the kingdoms of the heptarchy 107. Many of the Anglo-Saxon ladies of the highest rank were inrolled among their faints, and became the objects of the superstitious veneration of their countrymen 108. A great number of laws were made to fecure the rights, protect the perfons, and defend the honour of the fair fex from all infults: they were courted with no little gallantry, and many brave exploits performed with a view to gain their favour 109. It must indeed be confeffed, that the English ladies, especially those of the highest rank, were involved in a temporary difgrace and degradation towards the end of the eighth century. This was occasioned by the base and criminal conduct of Eadburga, the daughter of Offa King of Mercia, and Queen of Beorthric King of Wessex; who, after having committed many horrid crimes, at length poifoned her husband, and a young nobleman who was his favourite, with one potion; which excited fuch a violent and universal indignation

Tacit. de Morib. German. c.8.

<sup>107</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. 1.3. c. 25.

<sup>108</sup> See Chap. 2. W. Malmf. 1.2. c. 13.

Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ. Northern Antiquit. vol. 1. c. 12.

against her, that she was obliged to make her escape to the continent. The people of Wesfex, finding that they could not execute their vengeance on the person of the offender, testified their refentment, by making a law, " That " none of the Kings of Wessex should from " thenceforward permit their conforts to be " crowned, to fit with them on the throne, or " to enjoy the name of queen "." But Afferius, who relates this transaction at great length, as he had received it from the mouth of his mafter Alfred the Great, expresses his disapprobation of this law in the strongest terms, declaring it to be a most perverse and detestable law, directly contrary to the customs of all those nations who were descended from the ancient Germans. He observes further, that this law was not long observed. For Ethelwolf, the fecond monarch of England, having married Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald, King of France, placed her on the throne, in direct opposition to the barbarous custom which had for fome time prevailed in his country, without incurring the displeasure of his subjects ". The wives of the English nobility, who had shared in the diffraces of the royal conforts, gradually recovered their former dignity and influence in fociety, which was at least as great in England in this period as in any country of Europe. 112

<sup>110</sup> Affer. Vita Ælfridi, p. 3.

Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 25.

III Id. ibid.

Marriage ceremonies.

The legal ceremonies and customs in contracting marriages among the Anglo-Saxons have been already mentioned 113; and therefore nothing now remains but to take notice of a few of the arbitrary fashions and changing ceremonies with which the celebration of their marriages was commonly attended. But thefe fashions and ceremonies being regulated by fancy and caprice, rather than by law, it cannot be supposed that they were either constant or univerfal. As the marriage was always celebrated at the house of the bridegroom, and all the expence and trouble of it was devolved on him, he was allowed a confiderable time to make the necessary preparations. It was not, however, efteemed gallant or fashionable to allow more than fix or feven weeks to elapse between the time of contracting and the celebration of the marriage. On the day before the wedding, all the friends and relations of the bridegroom having been invited, arrived at his house, and fpent the time in feating, and in preparing for the approaching ceremony. Next morning the bridegroom's company mounted on horseback, completely armed, and proceeded in great flate and order, under the command of one who was called the forewistaman, or foremost man, to receive and conduct the bride in fafety to the house of her future husband. The company proceeded in this martial array to do honour to the

bride, and to prevent her being intercepted and carried off by any of her former lovers. The bride in this procession was attended by her guardian and other male relations, led by a matron who was called the bride's-woman, and followed by a company of young maidens, who were called the bride's maids. She was received by the bridegroom, at her arrival, and folemnly betrothed to him by her guardian in a fet form of words "4. After this ceremony was performed, the bridegroom, the bride, and their united companies, went in procession to the church, attended with music, where they received the nuptial benediction from a prieft. This was in some places given under the nuptial veil, which was a fquare piece of cloth, supported by a tall man at each corner over the bridegroom and bride, to conceal her virgin blushes "5. When the bride was a widow, the veil was never used, as being esteemed unneceffary. After the nuptial benediction was given, both the bridegroom and bride were crowned by the priest with crowns made of flowers, which were kept in the church for that purpose 116. Marriages, on that account, and for feveral other reasons, were most commonly celebrated in the fummer feafon. When thele ceremonies were finished, the whole company returned in procession to the bridegroom's house, and fat down out brogotastan gali at m.

<sup>14</sup> See Chap. 3. p. 396.

olai Magni, p.553.

<sup>115</sup> Muratori, t. 2. p. 111.

to the nuptial feast which was as sumptuous and abundant as the entertainer could afford. The afternoon and evening were fpent by the youth of both fexes in mirth and dancing, most commonly in the open air; and by the rest of the company in caroufing, in which they very much delighted. At night the bride was conducted by her women-attendants to her apartment, and placed in the marriage bed; and foon after the bridegroom was conducted by the men in the fame manner; and having both drunk of the marriage cup with all who were present, the whole company retired. The weddingdreffes of the bride and three of her maidens, and of the bridegroom and three of his attendants, were of a peculiar colour and fashion, and could not be used on any other occasion. These dresses, therefore, were anciently the perquisite of the minstrels or musicians who had attended the wedding; but afterwards, when the minftrels fell into difgrace, they were commonly given to some church or monastery 117. Next morning the whole company affembled in the apartment of the new-married pair before they arose, to hear the husband declare the morgægife, or morning-gift; and a competent number of his relations became fureties to the relations of his wife, that he would perform what he promifed "8. The feaftings and rejoicings continued feveral days after the marriage, and feldom ended till allthe provisions were confumed. To indemnify the husband in some degree for all these expences, the relations of both parties made him fome prefent or other at their departure. 19

When marriages proved fruitful, the mothers Mothers generally nurfed their own children. This laud-nurfed their own able practice doth not feem to have been quite children. univerfal among the Anglo-Saxon ladies of high rank, even in the former part of this period; for Pope Gregory, in his letter to St. Augustin, the apostle of the English, says, "A certain wicked " cuftom hath arisen among married people, "that some ladies refuse to nurse the children " whom they have brought forth, but deliver " them to other women to be nursed." 120

It is faid to have been the custom of the Names and Anglo-Saxons to give their children names as furnames. foon as they were born; and these names were all expressive of some great or good quality 121. Surnames, or family-names, were not in use among the English in this period, or at least not till the reign of Edward the Confessor 122. But as feveral perfons who lived near to each other fometimes had the fame proper name, it became necessary, in conversation and writing, in order to diftinguish the person of whom they spoke and wrote, to add fome word to his name descriptive of his person, disposition, &c.; as, the Long,-

Sawablishes.

PRISHOR

<sup>119</sup> Stiernhook, 1.2. c.1. p. 165.

<sup>120</sup> Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. l. I. c. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Camden's Remains, p.45. 55, &c. Verstigan, c.8.

<sup>122</sup> Id. ibid. p. 110.

the Black,—the White,—the Good,—the Peaceable, -the Unready, &c. This word, by being constantly added to his name, became a kind of fecondary name; but did not descend to his posterity, nor become the furname of his family 123. Sometimes a particular perfor was diffinguished from others of the same name, by adding the name of the place where he dwelt, or the name of his father, and by feveral other ways 124. It may however he observed, that those words which in this period were used as a kind of nicknames to diftinguish particular persons of the same proper names from each other, in the next period became family-names, and descended to the posterity of these persons, who probably resembled them in these particulars; and from these words many of our modern surnames are derived 125. By fuch flow and infenfible degrees are the most prevailing customs established.

Trial of children's courage.

As the Anglo-Saxons admired valour and intrepidity above all other qualities, they were very anxious to discover whether their sons would be possessed of them or not; and had various methods of putting their courage to the trial even in their infancy. The following is said to have been one of the most common of those modes of trial. Upon a certain day appointed for that purpose, the family and friends being assembled, the father placed his infant son on the

<sup>123</sup> Camden's Remains, p. 110. Verstigan, c. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Hickelii Differtat. Epist. p. 23. Verstigan, c. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Verstigan, c.9.

flanting fide of the roof of his house, and there left him. If the child began to cry, and appeared to be asraid of falling, the spectators were much dejected, and prognosticated that he would be a coward; but if he clung boldly to the thatch, and discovered no marks of fear, they were transported with joy, and pronounced that he would prove a southerce, i. e. a brave warrior. 126

ages after, it is not to be imagined that they educated their children in a tender and delicate manner, of which they had no ideas, and which would have been very improper for the course of life for which they were designed. Like their ancestors the ancient Germans, persons even of the highest rank accustomed their children to encounter dangers, and to bear cold, hunger, pain, and labour, from their very infancy, that they might be sitted for hunting, which was to be their chief diversion; and war, which was to be their chief employment <sup>127</sup>. Letters were seldom

thought of as any part of the education of the children of the greatest families. When Alfred the Great, the fourth son of King Ethelwulf, was twelve years of age, neither he, nor any of his three elder brothers, could read one word of their native language; and it was by a kind of

The Anglo-Saxons being a rude and fierce Methods people at their arrival in Britain, and for feveral of educa-

ALC:

Howel's General History, part 4. p. 335.

<sup>127</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 20.

accident, rather than any formed defign, that these princes were afterwards taught to read; though much pains had been taken about their education, and they had been instructed with the greatest care, in hunting, riding, and all martial exercifes 128. It is also observed by Asserius, as one of the greatest changes introduced by his hero Alfred the Great, that his youngest son Ethelwerd, who was defigned for the church, was taught to read before he was taught to hunt 129. In a word, the Anglo-Saxon and Danish youth enjoyed much freedom, and were allowed to fpend their time in rural fports and martial exercifes; which contributed not a little to increase their strength, agility, and courage, and fit them for the toils of war.

Rites of fepulture.

The people of Germany and Scandinavia distinguished the different periods of their history by the different rites of sepulture which prevailed in these periods. In the most ancient period they burnt their dead, which was therefore called burna olld, or the age of burning; in the succeeding period they buried their dead without burning, and raised heaps of stones or earth over their bodies, which was therefore called haugs olld, or the age of hillocks 130. Though the end of the first, and commencement of the second of these periods, are not distinctly marked; yet it seems to have taken place before the arrival of

130 Bartholin. I. 1. c. 8.

<sup>128</sup> Affer. Vita Ælfredi, p. 8. 129 Id. p. 13.

the Saxons and Danes in Britain, who generally, if not always, buried their dead without burning, and raifed barrows over them to perpetuate their memory. Thus when Hubba, a famous Danish chieftain, was slain in battle by the English, A.D. 878., his followers buried his body, and raifed a prodigious mount of earth over it, which they called Hubbastow, or the place of Hubba 131. Though this mount is now fwept away by the fea, yet the place on the ftrand near Appledore in Devonshire, where it once stood, is still known by the name of Whibblestow 132, When they deposited the body on the ground, and began to cover it with earth, the whole company made the loudest and most bitter lamentations 133. It was fo much the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to lay the bodies of their dead on the furface of the ground, and cover them with stones and earth, that they did this even when they buried them in churches; and the floors of fome churches were fo much encumbered with these little mounts, that they became quite unfit for the celebration of divine fervice, and were on that account abandoned 134. The inconveniencies of this ancient practice were at length fo fenfibly felt, that feveral canons were made against burying any in churches, except priefts, or faints, or fuch as paid very well for that privilege; and

of worders are all the property of the state of the state

<sup>131</sup> Brompton, col. 809.

Dr. Borlafe's Cornwall, p. 221.
 Wilkins Concilia, t. 1. p. 268. Johnson's Canons, A. D. 994.
 c. 9.

obliging those that were buried in them to be deposited in graves of a proper depth under the pavement 135. The house in which a dead body lay before it was buried, was a scene of continued feafting, finging, dancing, and all kinds of gambols and diversions, which occasioned no fmall expence to the family of the deceased 130. In some places of the north, they kept the dead unburied, till they had confumed all the wealth which he had left behind him in these games and feaftings 137. This cuftom had prevailed in the times of Paganism, and was discouraged by the church; but it was too agreeable to their exceffive fondness for feating and riot to be soon abandoned. The manner of preparing the body, and the funeral procession of the famous Wilfred, Archbishop of York, who died at Oundle in Northamptonshire, A.D. 708., and was buried at Rippon, are thus described by his historian Eddius: "Upon a certain day, many abbots " and clergy met those who conducted the " corpse of the holy bishop in a herse, and earnestly begged that they might be allowed to wash the facred body, and dress it honourably " according to its dignity; and they obtained. of permission. Then one of the abbots, named " Bacula, spreading his surplice on the ground, the brethren deposited the holy body upon it, " washed it with their own hands, dressed it in

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Johnson's Canons, A.D. 994. c.9. 136 Id. A.D. 957. c.3.
Wita Ælfredi a Spelmanno, Append. 6. p. 208.

cc the

"the pontifical habits; and then taking it up, " carried it towards the appointed place, finging " pfalms and hymns in the fear of God. Hav-" ing advanced a little, they again deposited the " corpse, pitched a tent over it, bathed the " facred body in pure water, dreffed it in robes " of fine linen, placed it in the herfe, and pro-" ceeded, finging pfalms, towards the mona-" ftery of Rippon. When they approached that " monastery, the whole family of it came out to "meet them, bearing the holy relics. Of all this " numerous company there was hardly one who " abstained from tears; and all raising their " voices, and joining in hymns and fongs, they " conducted the body into the church, which "the holy bishop had built, and dedicated to "St. Peter, and there deposited it in the most " folemn and honourable manner." 138

engaged in war, had many fingular customs relating to it; of which it is not necessary to make a complete collection. As soon as a war was resolved upon, it was one of the first objects to discover what would be the event of it; not by comparing their own forces with those of their enemies, but by attempting to discover the will of Heaven by various arts of divination. The

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes being much Customs

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only one of these arts which seems to have had the least connection with any thing like reason, is that one which is thus described by Tacitus, as

practifed by their ancestors the ancient Germans: It is their custom, when they engage in war " with any neighbouring nation, to procure a captive of that nation by some means or other; " him they oblige to engage in fingle combat with one of their own people, each armed " after the manner of his country; and from the event of that combat, they draw a prefage of their future victories or defeats 139." They were at no less pains to gain the favour, than to discover the will of Heaven; in order to which, while they were Pagans, they offered many facrifices to their gods, and fometimes even human victims, before they embarked in their military expeditions 40. Their priefts, bearing their idols, constantly attended their armies, exercised military discipline, and determined what were the most fortunate seasons for giving battle '41. After the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes to Christianity, they long retained these ancient customs, a little changed, and accommodated to their new religion. Before a crew of Christian pirates fet fail on a plundering expedition, with the pious defign of robbing and murdering all who fell in their way, they never neglected to take the facrament, to confess their fins to a prieft, and to perform the penances which he prescribed, in hopes (fays my author) that God would bless and prosper them in their designs 142.

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<sup>139</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c.10.

<sup>140</sup> Dudo St. Quintin, de Morib. Norman. I. z.

Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 10. 142 Saxo Grammat. l. 14.

The Anglo-Saxon armies were always attended by a great number of ecclefiaftics to pray for their fuccess, who conftantly carried with them their most venerable relics, in order to secure the protection of those saints to whom they had belonged. 143

Nor did these churchmen confine themselves Method of within their own province of prayer, but, like making knights. their Pagan predecessors, interfered very much with the conduct of the armies which they attended, by inflicting the censures of the church on those who behaved improperly, and conferring military honours, particularly knighthood, with the following ceremonies: " The person who " was to be knighted first confessed all his fins " to the bishop, abbot, monk, or priest, and " performed all the acts of devotion, and other penances, which he injoined. He then watched " a whole night in the church, and next morn-" ing, before he heard mass, he solemnly offered " his fword upon the altar. After the reading " of the gospel, the priest blessed the sword, " took it from the altar, and with his benedic-"tion, hung it about the foldier's neck; who " having communicated of the facred mysteries " at the same mass, was proclaimed a true and

When the Anglo-Saxons advanced to battle War-fong. they made a most horrid and tremendous noise,

" lawful knight." 144

<sup>143</sup> Historia Ramsien. c. 72.

<sup>144</sup> Ingulphi Historia, edit. a Hen. Savile, p. 513.

by finging, shouting, and clashing their arms; and to prevent their horses being frightened at that noise, they had a custom of making them deaf; which was at length condemned for its cruelty by the canons of the church 145. The other military customs of the Anglo-Saxons which had any thing remarkable or fingular in them, have been already mentioned in our account of their military arts. 146

Retinues of the great.

The Anglo-Saxon kings, queens, and nobles, lived in a kind of rude magnificence and flate, and were always furrounded with a crowd of officers, retainers, and fervants. " Edwin King " of Northumberland (fays Bede) lived in fo " much fplendour, that he had not only ftandards " carried before him in time of war, but even in times of peace, when he travelled with his "ordinary retinue through the provinces of his kingdom. Nay, when he was at home, and " walked through the streets of his capital, he " had always a standard carried before him, of " that kind which the Romans call Tufa, and "the English call Tuuf147." This kind of standard was made of feathers of various colours, in the form of a globe, and fixed on the top of a pole. Canute the Great, who was the richeft and most magnificent prince in Europe of his time, never appeared in public, or made any journey, without a retinue of three thousand men,

Wilkins Concil. t. 1. p. 150.

<sup>147</sup> Bedæ Hist, Ecclef. 1.2. c. 16.

<sup>146</sup> Chap. 5. p. 137-154.

well mounted and completely armed 148. These numerous attendants were called the king's housecarles, and formed a corps of body-guards, or household troops, for the honour and fafety of the prince's person.

Chariots for travelling were not quite unknown Chariote in England in this period, though they feem to have been very rare, and only used by queens. Thus we are told by Eddius, in the life of Archbishop Wilfred, that when the Queen of Northumberland travelled in her chariot from place to place, she hung up in it a bag with the precious relics which the had violently taken from that prelate. 149 Install beautradog alogado atour

queens.

It would be tedious, and unbecoming the dignity of history, to enumerate all the trifling peculiarities in the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons, which are mentioned by the author quoted below, to whom we must refer fuch of our readers as defire to be acquainted with these minutie. 150 and daily in the states

The two most ancient and original languages of Europe were the Celtic and Teutonic, or Gothic; from which too many other languages were derived; and particularly those that were fpoken by the feveral nations which inhabited Britain in this period. "status Trice out to of the

It hath been already proved, -that the language of the ancient Britons, when they were first by all the nations of Germany and Scandingvia.

Language of the Scots and Welfh.

Language

<sup>148</sup> Sueno Agonis, p. 152. 149 Eddius Vita Wilfredi, c.33.

<sup>150</sup> Verstigan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence, chap 3.

<sup>151</sup> See Preface to Northern Antiquities. Dille

invaded by the Romans, was a dialect of the Celtic; -that the great body of the people retained this language through all the Roman times; -that they spoke it at the arrival of the Saxons, and transmitted it to their posterity in Wales, by whom it is still spoken. The Caledonian nations in the north of Britain spoke also a dialect of the same very ancient language; and as their posterity in the highlands of Scotland still remain unmixed with any other people, they continue to fpeak the language of their remote ancestors, with little variation. Venerable Bede indeed observes, that in his time the Britons, Scots, and Picts, fpoke three different languages; by which he probably means, that the languages of these nations were not exactly the same, but differed confiderably from each other, as the Welsh and Erse, the English and Scotch, do at present 152. It will not be necessary to take any further notice of the Celtic tongue, or the dialects of it which have fo long been spoken in Wales, and in the highlands and islands of Scotland, either in this or the fucceeding periods of this work; because they have remained through many ages without any very material alterations.

Language of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

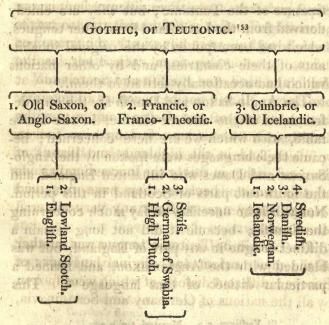
The Gothic or Teutonic tongue was another of the most ancient and original languages of Europe: different dialects of which were spoken by all the nations of Germany and Scandinavia,

<sup>352</sup> See vol. 2. book 1. c. 7. p. 336, &c. Bedæ Hift. Ecclef. l. 1. c. 1 hebavni

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and by all the numerous tribes which iffued from these countries, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and sounded so many powerful states on the ruins of the Roman empire. The following table will give the reader a distinct view of the chief tongues, ancient and modern, which have descended from this venerable parent of languages; and for his further satisfaction he will find, in the Appendix, No. 5., specimens of these tongues; from which their affinity to each other, and to their common parent, will very plainly appear.



Scheme of the languages derived from the Teutonic.

153 See the Preface to Northern Antiquities.

Reasons why the Italian. French, and Spanish languages, are not inferted in the above fcheme.

The modern Italian, French, and Spanish languages, are not inferted in the above table among the descendants of the ancient Gothic, though kingdoms were founded in Italy, France, and Spain, by nations who spoke dialects of that language; because these nations, instead of extirpating the ancient inhabitants of these countries, who were far more numerous than themfelves, fettled amongst them, and mixed with them; and by that means loft the greatest part of their own ancient languages, and adopted those of the nations which they had conquered. In all thefe three languages, indeed, there is a tineture of the Teutonic; but they are chiefly derived from the Latin, and fome other tongues, the lanwhich had been spoken by the original inhabitmort bevil ants of these countries, and by other nations -us T and which had occasionally settled in them. 154

The Saxon language.

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The Anglo-Saxon and Danish are the only defcendants of the ancient Gothic, in the above table, with which we are here concerned; because these languages were spoken by the Anglo-Saxons and Danes who inhabited England and the fouth-east parts of Scotland in this period. Nor will it be necessary to fay much concerning the Danish; because it did not long remain a distinct tongue in any part of England, but was blended with the Anglo-Saxon, and formed a particular dialect of that language 155. This

<sup>154</sup> Verstigan, c. 7. Muratori, t. 2. p. 990.

<sup>155</sup> Hickefii Thefaur. t. 1. p. 88, &c.

selde

Dano-Saxonic dialect was chiefly fpoken in the kingdom of Northumberland, where the Danes abounded most; and it is sometimes given as a reason, by our ancient historians, for the Danes landing fo frequently in that country,-" that " there was a great mixture of Danes among the " inhabitants of it; and that their language had " a great affinity with the Danish 150." That the Anglo-Saxon language was spoken in the fouth-east parts of Scotland, through the whole of this period, is undeniable 157. When Edgar the Peaceable, King of England, yielded Lothian to Kenneth II. King of Scotland, A.D. 975., it was on these express conditions, -that the people of that country should still be called Englishmen, be governed by the English laws, and be allowed 

Many extravagant things have been advanced Antiquity concerning the great antiquity and fuperior excellency of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. According to fome writers, it was the most ancient and most excellent language in the world, spoken by the first parents of mankind in paradife; and from it they pretend to derive the names Adam. Eve, Cain, Abel, and all the antediluvian patriarchs 159. But leaving these extravagancies to their authors and admirers, it is sufficient to fay, that the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon tongue is fo

and excellency of the Saxon language.

> out divi Greek

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<sup>156</sup> J. Wallingford, edit. a Gale, p. 548.

<sup>287</sup> Camden's Remains, p.21.

J.Wallingford, edit. a Gale, p. 545.

<sup>159</sup> Verstigan, c.7. p. 149.

ancient, that it is impossible to trace it to its origin; and that it was so excellent and copious, in the period we are now examining, as to enable those who spoke it to express all their ideas with sufficient force and perspicuity. 1500

Contained many polyfyllables. It hath been also affirmed very positively, that the most ancient Anglo-Saxon tongue consisted almost entirely of words of one syllable of this it is impossible to produce any proof, as the most ancient specimens of that language which are now extant, do not remarkably abound in monosyllables, but contain a competent number of words, consisting of two, three and four syllables of the initial syllables. It is indeed true, that the far greatest part of our present English words of one syllable are of Saxon origin; and this is all that can be affirmed with truth in this particular. It may even be observed, that some words which consist now only of one syllable consisted anciently of two;—as king, which was in Saxon Cining, &c.

Affinity with the Greek.

Some learned men have discovered, or imagined, a very remarkable affinity between the Greek and Anglo-Saxon, both in their radical words, and in their general structure; and it must be confessed, that they have shown no little learning and ingenuity in tracing that affinity 103. With this view, they have collected a considerable number of words, which are names of the

<sup>160</sup> Camden's Remains, p. 25.

Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 1, &c.
 Cafaubon Differtat. de Lingua

most necessary and common things, and of a fimilar found and fense in both languages. This fimilarity is indeed very great in fome of these words; but in many others it seems to be fanciful and far-fetched. With regard to their general formation and ftructure, a great analogy hath been observed between these two languages, -in the termination of the infinitive of their verbs, -in the use of their articles and negatives, -in the manner of comparing their adjectives, and compounding their words, and in fome other particulars 164. This affinity between these languages is supposed to have been occasioned by the vicinity, relationship, and commercial intercourse between the Goths and Greeks in very remote ages. 165

It is not to be imagined, that the Anglo- Changes in Saxon language continued in the fame flate the Saxon through the whole of this long period which we are now confidering; though it would be too laborious, or rather impossible, to trace its gradual changes. No specimens are now remaining of the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion to Christianity; of which therefore we can have no certain knowledge. To give our English readers some faint idea at least of the language spoken by their remote ancestors in different parts, and at the conclusion of this period, it may not be improper to lay before them

<sup>164</sup> Casaubon Dissertat. de Lingua Anglican. p. 236.

<sup>165</sup> Td. ibid.

two copies of the Lord's prayer, which appear to be of different ages, and a charter of King Harold, which must have been written in the last year of this period, with very literal translations interlined. By an attentive inspection of these specimens, they will perceive the great difference that there is between the Anglo-Saxon and modern English; and at the same time they will discover the great resemblance, and gradual approaches of the former of these languages to the latter. The Anglo-Saxon, in all these specimens, and some others which are given in the Appendix, are printed in Roman, and not in Saxon letters, which would have rendered them quite unintelligible to the bulk of our readers.

Saxon copy of the Lord's prayer, and literal version. The most ancient copy of the Lord's prayer in Saxon, with a very literal translation.

Urin Fader thic arth in heofnas, Our Father which art in heaven,

- 1. Sic 165 gehalgud thin noma;
  Be hallowed thine name;
- 2. To cymeth thin ryc; 167

  To come thine kingdom;
- 3. Sie thin will fue is in heofnas and in earth;

  Be thine will fo is in heaven and in earth;

the Anglo-Saxons, as well as by the Greeks, to many of their words.

167 Some vestige of this word still remains in the word bishopric.

Later co

Lord's

ronfladoi:

- 4. Urin hlaf ofirwiftlic 169 fel 169 us to daig; Our loaf superexcellent give us to day;
- 5. And forgefe us fcylda urna, fue we forgefan And forgive us debts ours, fo we forgiven

L Cum thin the !

fcyldgum urum; debts of ours; molecular and sent

- 6. And no inlead ufig in cuftnung, And not lead us into temptation,
- 7. Ah gefrig ufich from ifle. But free us each from evil. Amen.

Though the above Saxon version of the Lord's Observaprayer is evidently very ancient, and is faid to tions on have been written by Eadfredi, Bishop of Lindis-cimen. farne, about A.D. 700; yet we may observe, that there are not above three or four words in it that are altogether obfolete, and quite unintelligible to an English reader 40. It may be proper also to take notice, that several words in the Saxon confift of more fyllables than the same words in modern English, and not so much as one of fewer; for ryc is a different word from kingdom, which came in its place.

168 The great difference here is owing to the Saxon translators having put a different fense on the original.

<sup>169</sup> The verb felan, or fellan, changed its meaning even in the Saxon times, and fignified to fell, though anciently it had fignified to

<sup>170</sup> Camden's Remains, p. 22.

Later cop of the Lord's prayer, with a literal tranflation.

Later copy A later copy of the Lord's prayer in Saxon, with of the Lord's a very literal translation.

Thu vre Fader the eart on heofinum,
Thou our Father that art in heaven;

- Come thin ric;
  Come thine kingdom;
- 2. Si thin will a on eorthan fwa fwa on heofinum; Be thine will on earth fo as in heaven;
- 3. Syle us to daeg urn daegthanlican hlaf: Give us to day our daily loaf;
- 4. And forgif us ure gyltas, swa swa we forgifath And forgive us our guilts, so as we forgive

tham the with us agyltath; them that against us are guilty;

- 5. And ne led us on coftnung;

  And not lead us into temptation;
- 6. Ac alys us from yfle.

  And redeem us from evil.

Si it fwo Be it fo

This last copy of the Lord's prayer, which is supposed to have been written about two centuries after the former, hath still fewer obsolete words in it, and evidently approacheth nearer to modern English.

Armedock, Owligion came armed of the

The

The state of the Anglo-Saxon language, in the Another very last year of the present period, may be dif. specimen. covered even by an English reader, by perusing with attention the following fhort charter of Harold our last Anglo-Saxon king, and comparing it with the interlined version; which is contrived to give its meaning in words as near as possible to the original, without any regard to elegance or propriety of expression: king's clay in all things. And I bid won

Harold King greet Ailnoth and Tovid, and Charter of Harold King greets Ailnoth and Tovid, and King Haall, that ye do to him we suffing

rold with

alle mine theines on Somerseten frendliche, translationall mine thanes in Somerfet on friendlily.

strong a bond bing bis.

that ic will that Gifo And ic cyeth eou. And I kyth 171 to you, that I will that Gifo

Bisheop beo his faca 172 werth and his socna, Bishop be his fac worthy and his foc,

ofer his lond and ofer his mannen: and to over his land and over his men: and of toll

This verb, to kyth, in Saxon cyethan, " to discover or make "known," is still used in the following verse of that version of the Psalms of David which is appointed to be sung in the church of Scotland.

Thou gracious to the gracious art, To upright men upright. Pure to the pure, froward thou kyth'ft, Unto the froward wight. Pfal. xviii. 25, 26.

<sup>172</sup> Saca and focna, now commonly written fac and foc, fignify " a privilege of holding courts and judging causes," called faca, within their own lands, called focna; and to be fac and foc worthy, was to have a right to this privilege. Hickefii Thefaur. p. 159.

Charter of King Ha-

slitiw blos

a literal

werth 173, and temes 174, and infangenes 175 worthy, and of flaves, and of the trial of

thefes, binnen burch and butan: fwo full thieves, within burgh and without: fo full

and fwo forth fwo he furmist was on Edward and so forth as it first was in Edward

kinges dage on alle thingan. And ich bidde eou king's day in all things. And I bid you

alle, that ge been him on fultumes, at thys all, that ye be to him affifting his

Christian and God's rights, for to setten for to stablish

and to drive, loc thar him neth fy, and heo and to drive, when there need be, and he

eoures fultumes bithyrfe; fwo fwo ich yetruthen your support wanteth; so as I confidence

<sup>173</sup> Tolles averth was the privilege of holding a market, and exacting certain tolls or customs from those who frequented it. Ley's Saxon Diction. in voc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Teme or team in Saxon fignified a progeny or family of children; and to be teams werth, fignified to have the property of their flaves, and of the children and posterity of these flaves. There are still some vestiges of this word in use;—as, "a team of ducks;"—and in Scotland, "a bearn-team," a family of children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Infangenes thefes, which is most commonly written in one word, was a technical term in the Anglo-Saxon law, denoting a privilege granted by the king to a bishop or thane, to try a thief in his own court, who had been fanged or catched within his own territories. Spelman Gloss. in vos.

Duils not

to chang

to eou habbe, that we willan for mina luven. in you have, that ye will for mine love. And ich nille ye thefun that man, And I will not ve offend that man, or him in anie thingan anye unlag beodthe. thing any unlawful deed do. a dufficient propi of this id eu gehealde. and barbarons provided of bo you hold. quitable iniquistile in

From these specimens, the people of England will perceive, with pleafure, that the language which was fpoken by their ancestors above a thousand years ago, was copious, expressive, and mufical; abounding very much in vowels, diphthongs, and polyfyllables, which are efteemed the greatest excellencies of language. They will observe also, with surprise, its great resemblance in the fubstance of it to modern English; and that the far greatest part of the words of it are still in use, though many of them are much changed in their spelling and meaning. The further gradual changes of this language will be traced, in their proper places, in the fubfequent volumes of this work. 291 bas 2991 absent 1949

A minute investigation of the feveral parts of Minute the dress of both sexes, and of all the different ranks in fociety, in the feveral British nations, changes of in this period, would be tedious, and inconfiftent with the nature and defign of history; and therefore a general view of this subject is all that can be expected in this place.

investigation of the dress not necessary.

lo alsolf

the Scots

Picks, and Wellh.

aminuida

Drefs not very liable to change in this period.

In the first stages of society, the modes and fashions of dress are not very changeable. Arts are then in their infancy, and do not furnish materials for fancy to work upon; and men being little accustomed to changes of any kind, are uncommonly tenacious of the fashions, as well as of the other customs of their ancestors. It is a fufficient proof of this, that the very ancient and barbarous practice of body-painting was not quite unfashionable in the present period, as there was a necessity for making a law against it A. D. 785. 176 It appears also from the same law, that long after the introduction of Christianity, some Pagan modes of dress were still retained, that were much condemned by the church, but are not described. Joidy soldsly log bas segreds

Drefs of the Scots, Picts, and Welfh.

investigntion of the

cleaners of

rel win

We know of no very remarkable change in the drefs of the Scots and Picts in this period; among whom the arts were still in a very imperfeet state. The posterity of the ancient Britons of the fouth, after their retreat into Wales, were not in better circumstances in this respect, being but very imperfectly and coarfely clothed. They are faid to have despised linen, and to have had their heads, feet, and legs uncovered, with nothing on their bodies but coarfe rough breeches, a kind of jacket next their skin, and a mantle or plaid over all, which ferved them to fleep in by night, and protected them from the cold and rain by day, as the learned reader will fee by the

therefore a coneral view of this libited in

of the deel

rhiming verses below 177. This however, was only the dress of the common people of Wales in this period; for it plainly appears from the laws of that country, that the royal family, the officers of state, and other persons of high rank, were not strangers to the use of linen, and of shoes and stockings. By these laws, all the officers of the household were appointed to be clothed thrice every year, the king furnishing the woollen, and the queen the linen, cloth for that purpose '7's. The several parts of the dress of the king and of the nobility are enumerated; among which are shirts, stockings, shoes, and boots, with girdles or belts, at which their knives and daggers, with whetstones for sharpening them, were suspended 179. Though hose or flockings are mentioned in the ancient laws of Wales, we must not imagine that they were of the same kind, or manufactured in the same manner, with those which are now in use; for the ingenious and ufeful arts of knitting and weaving flockings were not invented till feveral centuries after the conclusion of this period. The flockings of those times were only certain Moonaria outroposionia interioria

Listro and us opposite made His vestium insignia Stant, sedent, cubant, dormiunt, Sunt clames et camifia, Sub ventis et sub pluvia, Nudatis semper tibiis, Quamvis brumescat Borea.

Pergant, pugnant, profiliunt. Et crispa femoralia Hi fine super tunicis, Vix aliter incederent Sub iftis apparatibus Regi licet occurrerent. Spritis linthiaminibus. Ranulph Higden, apud Gale, p. 187

reauteu

<sup>173</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p. 8.

<sup>1</sup>d. p.273.

clumfy coverings for the legs and feet, made of linen or woollen cloth, and wrapped about them, or fastened on them in several different ways; fome of which will be hereafter mentioned.

General description of the drefs

The drefs of the ancient Germans, as defcribed by Tacitus, was very fimple and imperof the An- feet, confifting chiefly of a large mantle or plaid, glo Saxons. which covered the whole body, and was faftened on the right shoulder by a button or broach 290. Some of the most opulent amongst them wore under their mantles a kind of tunic, not loofe and flowing like those of the Parthians and Sarmatians, but exactly fitted to the shape of their bodies, and ornamented with patches of the tkins of animals of different colours. The drefs of the women did not differ much from that of the men, only their mantles were commonly made of linen, and their tunics had no fleeves and did not cover their bosoms is. The Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, feem to have been dreffed in the same manner with their anceftors the ancient Germans. For Paulus Diaconus, in his history of the Longobards, gives the following fhort description of their dress (which he fays was the fame with that of the Anglo-Saxons), taken from a historical painting of the fixth century, which he had feen in the palace of Theodelinda, Queen of the Longobards, in Italy. "In the fame place, Queen Theodelinda built a palace, in which she

Alementa .

Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 17-

<sup>181</sup> Id. ibid.

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" caused some of the exploits of the Longo-" bards to be painted. From this ancient paint-" ing, we fee how the Longobards dreffed their " hair in those times, and also what kind of " garments they wore. Their garments, which " were the fame with those of the Anglo-Saxons, " were loofe and flowing, and chiefly made of " linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or " embroidered with various colours 182." As this description was taken from a painting, it probably respects only the upper garment or mantle; and as this painting was in the palace of a queen, many female figures were probably introduced into it; which might be the reason that many of these mantles appeared to be of linen. For it is hardly possible, that all the garments of the men among the Longobards and Anglo-Saxons, especially the upper ones, could be made of linen, at a time when that kind of cloth was fo fcarce. Such garments too would have been very uncomfortable and inconvenient to nations that were fo much exposed to fforms, and engaged in military expeditions.

To gratify more fully the curiofity of the people of England in this particular, it may not be improper to collect a more complete account of the feveral parts of the drefs of their ancestors, and of the arts with which they used to adorn their persons.

More particular account.

The Air-

Fondness for the warm-bath.

All the nations which iffued from Germany and Scandinavia in the middle ages, and particularly the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, who fettled in England, long retained their fondness for bathing in warm water, which they had derived from their ancestors the ancient Germans 183. In the Anglo-Saxon laws, the warm-bath is always confidered as one of the necessaries of life; and no less indispensable than meat, drink, or clothing 184. One of the most common penances enjoined by the canons of the church in those times, to those who had been guilty of great fins, was, to abstain for a certain time from the warm-bath themselves, and to give meat, drink, clothes, firing, bath, and bed, to a certain number of poor people 185. On the other hand, they had a very great aversion to bathing in cold water; which was also enjoined as a penance. To bathe at least every Saturday was the conflant practice of all who had any regard to personal propriety, and wished to recommend themselves to the favour of the ladies.

The Anglo-Saxons vain of fine and long hair.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes confidered fine hair as one of the greatest beauties and ornaments of their persons, and were at no little pains in dressing it to advantage 157. Young ladies before marriage were their hair unco-

TISIG T

<sup>183</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 22.

Johnson's Canons, A. D. 963. c.68, 69. 135 Id. ibid.

Weltichindus, l. I. Cluver. l. I. c. 16. p. 106.

487 J. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. I. p. 547.

vered and untied flowing in ringlets over their shoulders; but as soon as they were married, they cut it shorter, tied it up, and put on a head-dress of some kind or other, according to the prevailing fashion 188. To have the hair entirely cut off, was fo great a difgrace, that it was one of the greatest punishments inflicted on those women who were guilty of adultery 189. The Danish foldiers who were quartered upon the English, in the reigns of Edgar the Peaceable and of Ethelred the Unready, were the beaus of those times, and were particularly attentive to the dreffing of their hair; which they combed at least once every day, and thereby captivated the affections of the English ladies 190. The clergy, both fecular and regular, were obliged to shave the crowns of their heads, and keep their hair short, which distinguished them from the laity; and feveral canons were made against their concealing their tonsure, or allowing their hair to grow long 191. The shape of this clerical tonfure was the fubject of long and violent debates between the English clergy on the one hand, and those of the Scots and Picts on the other; that of the former being circular, and that of the latter only femicircular 192. It appears very plainly that long flowing hair was

e carried about him for that purpole, and com-

Du Cange Gloff, voc. Capelli. 1941 1208011

<sup>189</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 19.
190 J. Wallingford, apud Gale, p. 547.

Johnson's Canons, A.D. 960. c. 47.

Bed. Hift. Ecclef. l.s. c. 21.

univerfally efteemed a great ornament; and the tonfure of the clergy was confidered as an act of mortification and felf-denial, to which many of them submitted with reluctance, and endeavoured to conceal as much as posible. Some of them, who affected the reputation of superior fanctity, inveighed with great bitterness against the long hair of the laity; and laboured earnestly to perfuade them to cut it short, in imitation of the clergy. Thus the famous St. Wulftan, Bishop of Worcester, who flourished in the last part of this period, is faid to have declaimed with great vehemence against luxury of all kinds, but chiefly against long hair, as most criminal and most universal. "The English (says William " of Malmfbury, in his life of St. Wulftan) were very vicious in their manners, and " plunged in luxury, through the long peace "which they had enjoyed in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The holy prelate Wulftan reproved the wicked of all ranks with " great boldness; but he rebuked those with " the greatest severity who were proud of their long hair. When any of those vain people " bowed their heads before him to receive his " bleffing, before he gave it, he cut a lock of "their hair with a little sharp knife, which he " carried about him for that purpose, and com-" manded them, by way of penance for their " fins, to cut all the rest of their hair in the " fame manner. If any of them refused to " comply with this command, he denounced univerthe most dreadful judgments upon them, re-" proached them for their effeminacy, and fore-" told, that as they imitated women in the " length of their hair, they would imitate them " in their cowardice when their country was in-" vaded; which was accomplished at the land-" ing of the Normans 193." In times of peace, the Anglo-Saxons and Danes covered their heads with a bonnet, exactly of the same shape with that which is still used by the common countrypeople in Scotland; in times of war they covered them with their helmets. 194

Some of the ancient German nations allowed Their their beards to grow till they had killed an beards. enemy in battle; while others shaved them all except their upper lips 195. The Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, and for a confiderable time after, most probably followed the former of these fashions, as well as their near neighbours the Longobards, to whom in all things they bore a very great resemblance 196. After the introduction of Christianity, their clergy were obliged to shave their beards, in obedience to the laws, and in imitation of the practice of all the western churches 197. This distinction between the clergy and the laity subsisted for some time; and a writer of the feventh century complains, securior about him lorthat purpora, spil do

<sup>191</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 254.

<sup>194</sup> See the plates of the famous tapeftry of Bayeux, Memoires de Literature, t. 12.

<sup>195</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 21. Diod. Sicul. 1. 5. c. 28.

<sup>196</sup> Paul. Diacon. l. r. c. 9. 197 Muratori, t. 2. p. 300.

that the manners of the clergy were so corrupted, that they could not be diffinguished from the laity by their actions, but only by their want of beards 108. By degrees, the English laity began to imitate the clergy fo far as to shave all their beards except their upper lips, on each of which they left a lock of hair; by which they were diffinguished from the French and Normans, who shaved their whole beards. The English spies who had been fent by King Harold to difcover the strength and situation of the army of William Duke of Normandy, having been taken prisoners, were conducted through the whole army, and defired to take a full view of every thing; after which they were fumptuously entertained, and courteously dismissed. "At their " return (fays Malmibury), being asked by Ha-" rold what they had feen? they broke out into " high encomiums on the magnificence, confi-" dence, and courtefy, of the Duke; and fe-" riously added, that his whole army feemed to " them to be composed of priests, as all their " beards, and even their upper lips, were fliaved. " For the English at that time generally shaved "their beards; but allowed the hair of their " upper lips to grow to its full length. The " King finiled at their ignorance and fimplicity; " well knowing, that those whom they believed " to be priefts were brave warriors 199,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Muratori, t. 2. p. 300.

The Anglo-Saxons, in this period, were far Their from being strangers to the use of linen; for of shirts. this all persons of any consideration amongst them wore shirts next their bodies. These were esteemed so pleasant and so necessary, that wearing a woollen shirt is reckoned among those things which constituted deep fatisfaction or penance for very great fins 200. In that particular description of the French dress (which was the fame with the English), in the ninth century, given by Eginhart, the historian of Charlemagne, a fhirt of linen next the body is mentioned as an effential part. 201 manuford males of the 19 Manufor

Above their shirts they wore a tunic or vest Their fitted to the shape of their bodies, and reaching tunics. to the middle of their thighs, fometimes with fleeves, and fometimes without them. Kings, princes, and great men, had their vefts made of filk, or at least with borders of filk, embroidered with various figures 202. "The tunics (fays Al-" cuinus) of foldiers are commonly made of " linen, and exactly fitted to the shape of their bodies, that they may be expedite in pointing " their fpears, holding their fhields, and brandishing their fwords." 203 m a many Manyael

The Anglo-Saxons wore breeches, either of Their linen or woollen cloth, reaching to the knee, and breeches fometimes confiderably below it, very much re-

and belts.

Johnson's Canons, A.D. 963. Can. 64.

Eginhart. Vita Caroli Magni, c. 23.

Alcuini Lib. de Offic. Divin.

About their bodies, above their tunics, they wore belts or girdles, in which their fwords were fluck almost perpendicular 2015. These belts were fometimes embroidered, and adorned with precious stones. 2016

Their flockings.

The common people among the Anglo-Saxons for the most part had no stockings, nor any other covering on their legs; and even the clergy celebrated mass with their legs naked, till the following law was made against that practice in the council of Chalchuythe A. D. 785 .: " Let no "minister of the altar presume to approach it to " celebrate mass with naked legs, left his filthi-" ness appear, and God be offended 207." But perfons of condition covered their legs with a kind of flockings made of linen or woollen cloth, which were fometimes fastened on, and made to fit the shape, by being wrapped about with bandages, which made many turns round the leg, from the foot to the knee 208. These bandages are very visible on the legs of Edward the Confessor, Guido Count of Ponthieu, and a few other great personages, in the famous tapestry of Bayeux, which is one of the most curious monuments of those times now remaining.

Their

fembling

Though many of the figures in this tapestry are without stockings, none of them are without

<sup>204</sup> See the plates of the tapestry of Bayeux, Montfauçon Monumens de Monarchie Françoise, t. r.

<sup>205</sup> Id. ibid. 205 W. Malmf. 1.2. c. 6.

<sup>207</sup> Wilkins Concil. t. 1. p. 147. 208 Lindenbrogii Gloff. p. 1469.

shoes; which makes it probable, that shoes (as they are more necessary) were more generally used, than stockings, in this period. Many of our readers will be furprifed to hear, that the greatest princes of Europe, in the ninth and tenth centuries, wore wooden shoes, which are now esteemed the marks of the most deplorable indigence and mifery. Those of a great king are thus described by one who had seen them: "The shoes which covered each of his feet are fill remaining: their foles are of wood, and "the upper part of leather, tied with thongs, "They were so nicely fitted to the shape of the " feet, that you might difcern the order of the toes, terminating in a point at the great toe; " fo that the shoe of the right foot could not be out upon the left foot, nor that of the left on " the right 209.".

The fagum or mantle was the principal gar- Their ment of the ancient Germans, and of all the na- mantles. tions descended from them; particularly of the Franks and Anglo-Saxons 210. This garment is thus described by a cotemporary writer: " Their uppermost garment was a mantle of white or " blue cloth, fquare, and lined, and fo formed, "that when it was put on their shoulders, it " reached to their feet, before and behind; but " hardly reached to their knees on the two "fides211." These mantles were fastened on the

<sup>209</sup> Eginhart. a Schminkio edit. p. 111.

Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 17.

<sup>211</sup> Lindenbrogii Gloss. in voc. Sagum.

right shoulder by a button; and were of great use to foldiers in military expeditions, protecting them from the inclemency of the weather, and keeping them warm both in the night and day. It was on this account that Charlemagne prohibited the use of short cloaks, which began to come into fashion in his time. " Of what use " (faid that wife prince) are thefe trifling little " cloaks? When we are in bed, they do not " cover us; when we are on horseback, they do not protect us from the wind and rain; " and when we retire to ease nature, they do " not fecure our legs from the cold and froft 212." The mantles used by kings at their coronations, and on other great folemnities, were of purple cloth or filk, embroidered with gold. " I give " (faid Witlaf King of Mercia, in his charter to " the abbey of Croiland) to the fecretary of the " faid abbey my purple mantle, which I wore at my coronation, to be made into a cope, to " be used by those who minister at the holy altar; and also my golden veil, embroidered with the history of the siege of Troy, to be " hung up in the church on my anniversary 213." The mantles of princesses and ladies of distinction were made of filk or fine linen.

Diffinctions between the dreffes of the fexes. There was little difference between the dreffes of the two fexes among the ancient Germans; only the women made more use of linen than the

<sup>212</sup> Lindenbrogii Gloff. in voc. Sagum.

<sup>213</sup> Ingulph. Hift. Croil. p. 488.

men, the fleeves of their tunics were shorter, reaching no further than to their elbows; and their bosoms were uncovered when they had not on their mantles 214. The dreffes of the two fexes among the Anglo-Saxons feem to have differed in some other particulars. The tunics of the ladies reached to their ancles; -their mantles were fastened before, and not on the right shoulder, with a button; they had openings on each fide for the arms, and they flowed down to the ground on all fides. These circumstances appear very plainly by an attentive inspection of the female figures in the famous tapestry of Bayeux. 215

Persons of rank and wealth, of both sexes, ornaments among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, feem to of gold. have been very fond of ornaments of gold; as gold chains and bracelets. Gold chains were worn by all officers of distinction, both civil and military, as badges of their offices; and these chains were given them by their fovereigns; who, on this account, are fometimes called the givers of gold chains, in the poems of those times 216. The famous present made by Earl Godwin to King Hardicanute hath been already mentioned; and fufficiently shews, that bracelets of gold on each arm were ornaments worn by warriors, as well as by ladies, in this period 217. The Danes in particular were fo

<sup>314</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 17.

Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, t. 12. p. 381. 442. 217 See vol. iii. p. 136. aie Chron. Saxon. p. 112.

great admirers of these ornaments, that they esteemed no oaths so facred and inviolable as those that were fworn on bracelets of gold 218. In a word, we have the direct testimony of a cotemporary writer, that, at the conclusion of this period, the English were admired by other nations, and even by the French, for the richnefs and elegance of their drefs. " The French and Norman nobility admired the fine perfons, the flowing hair, and the beautiful "dreffes, of the English nobles. For the Engc lish women excel all others in needle-work, " and embroidering with gold; and their male " artists are also excellent. Besides this, such Germans as are most skilful in the several arts " refide in England; and their merchants, who of visit many distant regions with their ships, bring home from other countries, the most curious works of art of every kind." 219

Furs.

Furs of various kinds were much used by perfons of both sexes, and of all conditions, in lining their tunics and mantles, especially in the winter-season. Of this many proofs might be produced; but the following short anecdote from the life of Wulstan Bishop of Worcester will be sufficient. The holy bishop is thus celebrated by his biographer for the modesty and humility of his dress: "He avoided all appearances of pride and oftentation in his dress: for though

<sup>218</sup> Asser. Vita Ælfredi, p.8. Ethelwerdi Chron. 1.4. c.3.

Gesta Guillielmi Ducis, apud Duchen. p. 211.

" he was very rich, he never made use of any " finer furs than those of lambs' skins in lining " his garments. For this he was blamed one "day in conversation by one of his brethren, " Jeffrey Bishop of Constans; who asked him, "Why he used only the furs of lambs in his " garments, when he might and ought to use "those of fables, beavers, and foxes? To which he returned this facetious answer: It " is very proper for you and other politicians, who are skilled in all the tricks and artifices " of the world, to wear the spoils of those cun-" ning animals; but as I am a plain and artlefs " man, I am very well contented with the skins of lambs. The other still insisting, that if he " would not use those finer furs, he might at " least use the furs of cats. Believe me, reof plied Wulftan, my dear brother, the lamb of "God is much oftner fung in the church than " the cat of God. This witty answer threw the whole company into a violent fit of laughter, " and put Bishop Jeffrey to silence 220." This anecdote, besides the purpose for which it is introduced, may ferve as a specimen of the wit of those times.

It is not necessary to spend much time in deficribing the diet of the several nations of Britain in this period. For these nations were not unpractised in the arts of hunting, hawking, fishing, pasturage, and agriculture; and consequently

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were not unprovided with the various kinds of meats and drinks which are procured by these arts.

Of the Welfh, Scots, and Picts.

The people of Wales in this period, and even for some ages after, were very abstemious in their diet. "They remain fasting from morning to " night, being employed through the whole day " in managing their affairs; and in the evening "they take a moderate supper. If by any means " they are disappointed of a supper, or get only " a very flight one, they wait with patience till " the fucceeding evening, without taking any " food. In the evening, when all the family " and ftrangers are affembled, they make ready " provisions according to the number of the " guests and the abilities of the family; and " in doing this they study only to satisfy the de-" mands of nature, and not to provoke an appetite, by the arts of cookery, by fauces, and a variety of dishes. When the supper is ready, " a basket with vegetables is set before every "three persons, and not before every two, as in other countries,—a large dish, with meat of " various kinds, and fometimes a mess of broth " or pottage. Their bread is thin and broad " cakes, which are baked from day to day. "They make no use of tables, table-cloths, or "napkins. When strangers are at supper, the " master and mistress of the house always serve " them in person, and never taste any thing till " their guests have finished their repast; that if " there be any deficiency of provisions, it may

" fall to their own share 221." This account is given by a Welfhman, who was perfectly well acquainted with the manners and customs of his countrymen. It is highly probable, that the common people among the Scots and Picts, who were also descended from the ancient Britons, lived in the fame manner in this period. It is proper, however, to take notice, that the people of rank and fortune, and particularly the princes of all these nations, lived in a more plentiful and less simple manner. The chief cooks of the king and queen were perfons of confiderable dignity in the courts of the kings of Wales, and made use of pepper, and other spiceries, in seafoning the dishes for the royal table, which appear to have been numerous 222. Two tables were daily covered in the king's hall: at the first of which the king prefided, and ten of the principal officers of the court were admitted to it: the fecond table was in the lower part of the hall, near the door, at which the mafter of the household, with three other principal officers, had their feats. At this fecond table were feveral empty places, for the reception of fuch as were degraded from the king's table for their misbehaviour. 223

The ordinary drink of the common people in Their Scotland and Wales was water or milk; but per- drinks. fons of rank and fortune had a variety of fer-

<sup>221</sup> Girald. Cambrens. Descriptio Cambria, c. 10.

<sup>222</sup> Leges Wallicæ, p.48. 55. 223 Id. p. 13, 14, 15.

mented and intoxicating liquors, which they used with great freedom and too often to excess. Mead was ftill one of their favourite liquors, and bore a high price; for a cask of mead, by the laws of Wales, was valued at one hundred and twenty pence, equal in quantity of filver to thirty shillings of our present money, and in efficacy to fifteen pounds 224. The dimensions of the cask are thus described by these laws: "The " measure of a cask of mead must be nine palms " in height, and fo capacious as to ferve the " king, accompanied by one of his counsellors, " for a bathing tub 235." By another law, its diameter is fixed at 18 palms. To provide the materials for making this liquor, every farmer, either of the king or of the nobility, was obliged to pay a part of his rent in honey 226. They had also two kinds of ale, called common ale, and fpiced ale; and their value was thus afcertained by law: " If a farmer hath no mead, he shall pay two casks of spiced ale, or four casks of " common ale, for one cask of mead 227," By this law, a calk of spiced ale, nine palms in height, and eighteen palms in diameter, was valued at a fum of money equal in efficacy to feven pounds ten shillings of our present money; and a cask of common ale, of the same dimensions, at a fum equal to three pounds fifteen shillings. This is a fufficient proof, that even common ale

<sup>2&#</sup>x27;4 Leges Wallicæ, p. 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Id. ibid.

in this period was an article of luxury among the Welfh, which could only be obtained by the great and opulent. Wine feems to have been quite unknown even to the kings of Wales in this period, as it is not fo much as once mentioned in their laws; though Giraldus Cambrenfis, who flourished about a century after the conquest, acquaints us, that there was a vineyard, in his time, at Maenarper, near Pembroke, in South Wales. 228

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were very far Diet of from being fo abstemious in their diet as the post- the Angloterity of the ancient Britons; but rather verged and Danes. towards the other extreme; for inflead of contenting themselves with one moderate meal a-day, they commonly took four full ones. Some of our monkish historians, who flourished after the conquest, speak with high relish of the good living at court in the Saxon and Danish times. "The kings (as it is faid) were then fo generous " and bountiful, that they commanded four " royal banquets to be ferved up every day to " all their courtiers; chusing rather to have " much superfluity at their tables, than the " least appearance of deficiency. But, alas! it " is become the custom at court in our times 66 to have only one entertainment a-day; out " of politeness, as it is pretended, but in reality " out of fordid parfimony 229." The Anglo-

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<sup>228</sup> Girald. Cambrenf. Itinerarium Cambriæ, l.1. c. 12. 229 Hen. Hunt. 1.6.

Saxons and Danes, like their ancestors the ancient Germans, delighted much in feasting 230. Their nobles fpent the greatest part of their revenues in making provision for the abundant and frequent feafts with which they regaled their friends and followers 231. Their kings entertained all the great men of the kingdom for feveral days at each of the three feftivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, in the most fumptuous manner, and at a great expence 232. In a word, no meeting of any kind was held, and no business of importance was transacted, without a feast. These feasts were more remarkable for their abundance than for their elegance; and fome kinds of provisions were then used which would not now be touched, but in the greatest extremities of famine. The Danish inhabitants of Northumberland, in particular, were fond of horse-flesh, which they devoured in great quantities. 233

Their cookery.

The cookery of the English in this period, we may presume, was not very exquisite. It seems to have consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in the three operations of roasting, broiling, and boiling. The ancient Germans, and all the nations descended from them, delighted much in great joints of roasted meat; a taste which universally prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons of this period, and still prevails among the most robust

<sup>230</sup> Tacit. de Morib. German. c.14, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 58.

<sup>232</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 199.

<sup>233</sup> Wilkins Concilia, t. 1. p. 147. 151.

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and manly of their posterity 234. Salted meats of all kinds were much used in those times at the tables of the great, and even at royal entertainments. 235

As the Anglo-Saxons and Danes were at least Their lias much addicted to intemperance in drinking as in eating, they were at much pains in providing plenty and variety of liquors for their entertainments. The liquors provided for a royal ban- cyder, &c. quet, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, were wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat, and cyder 236. If wine was made in England in this period, it was only in small quantities, and therefore the greatest part of what was used was certainly imported. " Though Britain (fays an ancient " historian) abounds in so many things, it pro-"duceth but little wine, that those who desire co to purchase her commodities may have some-"thing to give in exchange for them 237." Wine. therefore, we may conclude, was both scarce and dear in Britain in this period, when trade was in its infancy. Mead was also one of the luxuries of life, and could only be procured by perfons of confiderable opulence. Ale was the favourite liquor of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, as it had been of their ancestors the ancient Germans 238. Before their conversion to Christianity, they believed that drinking large and frequent draughts

quors, wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat,

<sup>234</sup> Athenzei Deipnosoph. l. 4. c. 13. Eginhart. a Schminkio edit.

<sup>235</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 6. p. 210. 237 Id. 1.1. p.171. 20 Tacit. de Morib. German. c.23.

of ale was one of the chief felicities which those heroes enjoyed who were admitted into the hall of Odin 239: a sufficient proof of the high relish which these nations had for that liquor. This relish they retained to the end of this period; and it is still retained by many of their posterity. Pigment (in Latin pigmentum) was one of the richest and most delicious liquors known in those times; and so greatly admired, both in England and on the continent, that it was commonly called nectar. It is thus described by an ancient author:- "Pigment is a fweet and odoriferous " liquor, made of honey, wine, and spiceries of " various kinds 240." Morat was also esteemed a delicacy, and was only found at the tables of the great. It was made of honey, diluted with the juice of mulberries 240. Cyder is fo well known, that it need not be described. Some other liquors are occasionally mentioned in the monuments of this period; but it is not necessary to make this enumeration more complete. 242

Manner of fitting at table.

Among the ancient Germans every guest had a separate seat, and a little table by himself; but their posterity, the Anglo-Saxons and Danes of this period, were seated on long benches, at large square tables 243. This appears from many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Bartholin. de Causis contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, 1.2. c.12. p.541: 558.

<sup>40</sup> Joan. de Janua, Catholicum Parvum, apud du Cange, t. 5. p. 47 I.

<sup>241</sup> Du Cange Gloff. in voc. Moratum.

<sup>243</sup> Anglia Sacra, t.2. p. 98. 243 Tacit. de Morib. German. c.22.

passages in their history, and from the figure of the table at which Harold and his friends are represented dining in the tapestry of Bayeux 244. The guests were not permitted to take their places on these benches according to their own fancies, but according to an arrangement that was exactly fettled and ftrictly observed. By the court laws of King Canute, the officers of his household, and all the nobility who dined at court, are commanded to take their places at table according to their rank, and those of the fame rank according to their feniority in office; and if any one prefumed to take too high a place, he was degraded to the lowest, and all the company were permitted to pelt him with bones, without being thought guilty of any rudeness, or liable to any challenge 245. By the laws of Wales, which were probably copied in this particular from fome Anglo-Saxon laws that are now loft, the places of all the great officers who were admitted to the royal table are afcertained with the most minute exactness. 246

As persons of rank and fortune among the Diversions. Anglo-Saxons and Danes never engaged in bu-finess, and could not amuse themselves with reading, they necessarily spent much of their time in diversions. These were of three kinds.

<sup>244</sup> Montfauçon Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, t.1. plate 35. p. 372.

<sup>245</sup> Leges Curiales Regis Canuti, apud Bartholin. p, 533.

<sup>246</sup> Leges Wallicæ, l. I. passim.

viz.—martial exercises,—the sports of the field,—and domestic amusements.

Martial exercises.

War being the chief employment and great delight of the Anglo-Saxon thanes and their retainers, many of the diversions of their youth, and even of their riper years, were of a martial caft, confifting of running, fwimming, leaping, riding, wreftling, and fighting 247. A young warrior thus recounts the exercifes in which he had acquired dexterity by constant practice: " I " fight valiantly; I fit firmly on horseback; I " am inured to fwimming; I know how to run " along on fcates; I dart the lance; and am 66 skilful at the oar 242. The martial dance was the favourite diversion of the ancient Germans, and of their descendants the Anglo-Saxons. It is thus described by Tacitus: "They have one " public diversion which is constantly exhibited " at all their meetings. Young men, who by " frequent exercise have attained to great per-" fection in this pastime, strip themselves, and "dance among the points of fwords and fpears with the most wonderful agility, and even with " the most elegant and graceful motions. These " young gentlemen do not perform this martial "dance for hire, but for the entertainment of " the fpectators, whose applause they esteem a " fufficient reward 249." In a word, the ancient inhabitants of Germany and Scandinavia, and the

248 Id. ibid. p. 238.

<sup>247</sup> Northern Antiquities, t. 1. p. 197.

<sup>249</sup> Tacit, de Morib. German. c. 24.

nations descended from them, delighted so much in these martial exercises, that they imagined they constituted the chief amusement and felicity of those heroes who were admitted into Valhalla, the place of future happiness. "Tell me (fays "Gangler), how do the heroes divert them-" felves when they are not engaged in drink-"ing?" "Every day (replies Har), as foon " as they have dreffed themselves, they take " their arms, and entering the lifts, fight till "they cut one another in pieces. This is their diversion. But no sooner does the hour of re-" past approach, than they remount their horses, " all fafe and found, and return to drink in "the palace of Odin 250." Such readers as defire to fee a very prolix description of the military dances and other martial diversions of the ancient Danes, Anglo-Saxons, and other nations of Europe, in this period, may confult the works quoted below 251. It was from thefe. martial diversions that the tournaments of the middle ages, which will be delineated in our fixth volume, derived their origin. Horfe-races may be reckoned one of the diversions of the English in this period. Among the magnificent presents that were made to King Athelstan, by Adulphus, ambassador of Hugh King of France, when he demanded his fifter, the Princess Edel. fwitha, for his master, we are told, -" there were

<sup>250</sup> Bartholin. p. 564. 251 Historia Olai Magni, 1.25. p. 573-585. Muratori, t. 2. Differtat. 29.

<sup>&</sup>quot; feveral

" feveral running horses, with their saddles, and bits of yellow gold in their mouths 252." This is a sufficient proof, that such horses were admired and used in England at that time.

Sports of the field.

The sports of the field were the favourite diverfions of the Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, and other British nations, in this period; and in these fports persons of rank and fortune spent the greatest part of their time when they were not engaged in war. Such rural diversions were admirably adapted to give delight to a people of great activity and spirit, who enjoyed much leifure, and lived constantly in an open country, abounding in game of all kinds, which feemed to folicit their purfuit. Accordingly they confidered hawking and hunting as the two principal branches of a royal and noble education, the most admired accomplishments, and most honourable employments of kings and princes. Alfred the Great was taught to hunt before he was taught to read; and his friend and historian Affer speaks of his fuperior skill in all the sports of the field in a kind of rapture! "Before he was twelve " years of age he was a most expert and active " hunter, and excelled in all the branches of that " most noble art, to which he applied with in-" ceffant labour and amazing fuccefs. For his " felicity in hunting, as well as in all the other " gifts of God, was really incomparable, as I " myself have often seen 253." Edward the Con-

e feveral

<sup>252</sup> W. Malmf. 1. 2. c. 6.

<sup>253</sup> Affer. Vita Ælfredi, a Camden. edit. p. 5.

fesfor's fondness for these exercises of hunting and hawking is thus described by his historian: "There was only one diversion in which he "took the greatest possible delight, viz." to " follow a pack of fwift hounds in purfuit of " their game, and to cheer them with his voice, " or to attend the flights of hawks taught to " purfue and catch their kindred birds. Every "day, after divine fervice, he took the field, " and fpent his time in thefe beloved fports254." The figure of a hawk upon the left hand was the mark by which the painters of those times diftinguished persons of high rank, of both sexes, from their inferiors; which is a sufficient proof, that their fondness for, and frequent use of that bird, was univerfally known 255. So great a value did the princes and nobility of Europe in this period fet upon their hawks, that they conftantly carried them with them in all their journies, and fometimes into battle, and would not part with them even to procure their own liberty, when they were taken prisoners 256. The truth is, to refign his hawk was one of the most dishonourable actions of which a nobleman could be guilty, and was confidered as a voluntary refignation of his nobility. Dogs of sport of all kinds were alfo the favourites and constant companions of the great in this period; and a prodigious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> W. Malmf. l. 2. c. 13. <sup>255</sup> Memoires des Inferiptions, t. 9. p. 542.

<sup>256</sup> Id. ibid.

number of laws were made to prevent their being killed or ftolen 257.

Game laws.

When kings, princes, and nobles, took fo much delight in the diversions of the field, we may be almost certain, that they endeavoured to fecure them to themselves, and to prevent their inferiors from sharing with them in the pleasure of those admired amusements. Of this we have the clearest evidence, in the forest or game laws of Canute the Great, which are ftill extant. By these laws, certain magistrates or judges are appointed in every county to take cognifance of all trespasses committed within the limits of the royal forests; and certain inferior officers or gamekeepers are conftituted to apprehend those who were guilty of fuch trespasses. Thanes, bishops, and abbots, are permitted to hunt in the king's chaces; but the penalties and punishments inflicted on unqualified persons who were guilty of hunting, or even disturbing the game, are very fevere. By one of these laws, if a gentleman, or inferior thane, killed a ftag in a royal forest, he was degraded, and deprived of his arms; if a ceorl killed one, he was reduced to flavery; and if a flave killed one, he was put to death. By another of these laws, all proprietors of lands are declared to have a right to hunt within their own lands; but not to purfue their game into any of the royal chaces 258.

Though

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Lindenbrog, p. 384, 385—435, 436. Leges Wallicæ, p. 249, &c. <sup>258</sup> Conflitutiones Canuti Regis de Foresta, apud Spelman. Gloss. p. 140, 141, 142. Wilkin. Leges Saxon. p. 146.

Though the martial and rural sports above de- Domestic fcribed enabled the kings, princes, and nobles, of games. this period, to fpend a confiderable part of their time in a very agreeable manner; yet as thefe fports could only be purfued in the day-time, in favourable weather, and when they were in health, they stood in need of some domestic diversions to fill up the remainder of their vacant hours. These domestic diversions were the more necessary, because very few were then capable of amufing themselves with reading, writing, and fludy; and because they were not furnished with various topics of conversation,with public spectacles, - and with other ingenious arts of killing time, which have been fince invented. It was probably fuch circumftances as these that rendered the ancient Germans, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons, so immoderately fond of games of chance. "At dice they play, "which is wonderful, when they are perfectly " cool and fober, with fuch keenness and teme-" rity, that after they have loft all their money " and goods, they venture their very persons and " liberties on one desperate throw. He who " loseth tamely submits to servitude; and though both younger and stronger than his antagonist, " patiently permits himself to be bound and fold " in the market. This madness they dignify with " the name of honour 259." We have good reason to believe, that fimilar circumstances produced

259 Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 24.

fimilar effects in their descendants the Anglo-Saxons in England in this period, though not perhaps in fuch an extreme degree; because the church discouraged games of chance, and prohibited the use of them to the clergy 200. When bishop Ætheric obtained admission to Canute the Great about midnight, upon fome urgent business, he found the king and his courtiers engaged at play, some at dice, and others at chess 26x. When a young nobleman applied to a father for permission to pay his addresses to his daughter, the parent, it is faid, commonly made a trial of his temper, by playing with him at dice and chefs, before he gave him an answer<sup>202</sup>. The game of backgammon, it is pretended, was invented in Wales in this period, and derives its names from the two Welfh words, bach, "little," and cammon, " battle 263." But it is quite unneceffary to be more particular in our enumeration of these domestic amusements, of which many are probably quite forgotten and loft.

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<sup>260.</sup> Johnson's Canons, A. D. 960. can. 64.

<sup>261</sup> Hift. Ramfienf. a Gale edit. c. 85.

<sup>262</sup> Hist. Olai Magni, p. 572.

<sup>263</sup> Gloff. ad Leges Wallicas, a voc. Tawlbwrdd.



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# APPENDIX

XPCHETEX.

TO THE

## SECOND BOOK.

#### NUMBER I.

A Map of Britain according to the Saxon Chronicle.

#### NUMBER II.

The Saxon Names of Places in the preceding Map, in alphabetical Order, with an Explanation of their Meaning, and their prefent English Names\*.

Saxon Names. A	Meaning +.	English Names.
Abban-dun	Abbey-hill	Abingdon, Berks
Ace-man's-ceafter	Sick-man's-city	Bath, Somersetsh.
Ac-lea	Oak-field	Okeley, Surry
Acfan-minster	Ax-abbey	Axminster, Devon.
Ædwines-clife	Edwin's-rock	Not certainly known
Ægeles-byrig	Egel's-town	Ailefbury, Bucks
Ægeles-ford	Egel's-ford	Ailesford, Kent
Ægeles-wurthe	Egel's-worth	Eclefworth, Northampt.
Ælfet-éé	Elfet's-island	Not certainly known

<sup>\*</sup> I once intended to have subjoined a commentary to this alphabetical catalogue of the names of places, explaining the reasons of the meanings given to these names, and producing authorities in support of these reasons; but this became so yoluminous, that it could not be inserted.

† When the meaning is unknown or uncertain, the original word is put in this column.

Ælm

Saxon Names.

Ælm Æscet-dun Æfc-tun Æft-fild Æft-tun Ætfing-stoce

Æthan-dun Æthelbrighte's minster Æthelhund-iglond Æthelinga-dene Æthelinga-igge Afene

Afene-mouth S. Albane Aldewingle Ambresbyri Ancar-ig Andefira

Andredes-leag Andred-ceaster Angel-cynnes-lond Angles-ege Apuldre

Arundel Arwan Affan-dun

S. Augustine's-minster

Meaning.

Elm Ash-hill Ash-town Eaft-field Eft-town Etfing's-stock

Ethan's-hill Ethelbert's-church Ethelhun's-island Noble's-valley Noble's-island

Avon Avon-mouth

St. Alban Old-winkle Amber's-town Hermit's-illand

Andefira Andred's-pasture Andred's-city

Angles-nation-land Angles-island The Sea-march Arundel Arwan

Afs-hill

English Names.

Elm, in Ely Afton, Berks

Ashton, Northampt. East-field, Northampt. Easton, Northampt. Tavistock, Devon Eddington, Wiltsh.

In Hereford Not known Alton, Hampsh. Athelney, Somerfetin.

Avon river Avon's-mouth

St. Alban's, Hertfordsh. Oldwinkle, Northampt. Ambersbury, Wiltsh. Thorney-isle, Cambridgesh.

Andover, Hampsh. The Weald, Kent Not certainly known

England Anglefey Appledore, Kent Arundel, Suffex River Orwel

Affington, Effex St. Augustine's church St. Austin's, Canterbury

Baccanceld Baddan-byrig Badecan-willa Barwe Bafing Bathan-cester Beam-dune Beam-fleot

Bearthanig Bearwiecscire Bebbanburh. Bedan-ford Bedan-ford-scire Bedan-heafde

Benefica Benning-tun Baccanceld Baddan's-town Badecan's-well

Barwe A mantle Bathing-city Beam-hill Beam-bay Bearthanig

Box-division Bebba's-town Bedan's-ford

Bedan's-head Benefica Benning's-town Beckenham, Kent Badbury, Dorfetsh. Bakewell, Derbysh. Barrow, Rutlandsh. Bafing, Hampsh. Bath, Somerfetsh.

Bampton, Devonsh. · Bemflete, Effex Bardney, Lincolnsh.

Berkshire Bamburgh, Northumberland Bedford

Bedan's-ford-division Bedfordshire Bedwin, Wiltsh.

A river in Hertfordsh. Bennington, Hertfordsh.

Beofer-

Saxon Names.	Meaning.	English Names.
Beofer-lic	Beaver-like	Beverly, Yorksh.
Beorc-lea	Birch-field	Barkley, Gloucestersh.
Beorg-ford	Hill-ford	Burford, Oxfordsh.
	People of Bernicia	Bernicians, or Northumbrians
Beran-byrig	Beran-town	Banbury, Oxfordsh.
Bolhithe-goat	Bolhithe's-gate	Bulldikegate, Peterborow
Bofenham	Wood-houfe	Bosham, Suffex
Bradan-æ		Not known, Cambridgesh.
Bradan-relic	Broad-island	Stepholme, in the Severn
Bradan-ford		Bradford, Wiltsh.
Bricenan-mere	Bricenan's-pool	Bricknockmere, near Bricknock
Brædine	Broad-valley	Bredon-forest, Wiltsh:
Brent-ford	Brent-ford	Brentford, Middlefex
Breodune	Bread-hill	Not known
Breodun		Briedon, Worcestersh.
Briten-lond		Britain
Brig-stow	Bridge-place	Briftol
Brigge	Bridge	Bridgenorth, Shropsh.
Brunanburh	Brown-town	Uncertain
Buccingaham		Buckingham
Buccingaham-scir	Beech-tree-town division	Buckinghamshire
Burh	Town or city	Peterburgh, Northampt.
Burnewudu	Burnt-wood	Bernwood-forest, Bucks
Butting-tun		Buttington, Shropsh.
	Beavers-stone	Beverston, Glocestersh.
Byrtune .	Bear-town	Burton, Staffordsh.

C

Cære	A found I was	D 1 C 37 1 1
	Care	Carehouse, Northumb.
Calne	Calne	Calne, Wiltsh.
Caninganmerfes	Caningans-marshes	Canington, Somerfetsh.
Cant-wara-burh	Kentishmen's-town	Canterbury
Carleol	Carleol	Carlifle, Cumberland
Carrum	Carrum	Charmouth, Dorfetsh.
Caftra	Camp	Castor, Northamptonsh.
Cealc-hythe	Chalk-port	Uncertain
Ceaster	Camp	West-Chester
Cent-	Cent	Kent
Ceorles-ige	Ceorls-ifland	Chertfey, Surry
Cerdices-ford	Cerdic's-ford	Charford, Hampsh.
Cerdices-leag	Cerdic's-field	Chardsley, Buckinghamsh.
Cerdicefora	Cerdic's-shore	Charmouth, Dorsetsh.
Cice	Chich	St. Ofythe, Effex
Cingestun	King's-town	Kingston, Surry
Ciffaceaster	Ciffa's-city	Chichefter, Suffex

D D 4

		The second of th
Saxon Names.	Meaning.	English Names.
Cleuceafter	Clew-city	Gloucester
Cleftun		Clifton, Dorfetsh.
Clitern About O. Ly	Clitern	Chilternhills, Oxfordsh.
Clive	Cliff	Clyff, Northamptonsh.
Cloveshooh	Cloveshoe	Abingdon, Berkshire
Colne	Colne	River Colne, Effex
Colneceaster	Colne-city	Colchefter, Effex
Coludefburh	Colud's-city	Coldingham, Merfe
Corfe's-geate	Corf's-gate	Corfecaftle, Purbecke
Cofham	Choice house	Cofham, Wiltsh.
Cofterford	Tempter's-ford	Cosford, Warwicksh.
Cotingham	Coting's-house	Cottingham, Northamptonsh.
Couentre		Coventry, Warwicksh.
Cræecelade	Creek's-stream	Creeklade, Wilth.
Crecianford	Creek's-ford	Crayford, Kent
Crediantun	Credy-town	Kirton, Devonsh.
Croyland	Croyland	Crowland, Lincolnsh.
Cumbralond	Cumbre's-country	
Cevichelmes-hleawe		Cuckamfley-hill, Berks
Cymenes-ora	Cymen's-shore	Cimenshore, Suffex
Cynemæresford	King's-famous-fore	Kempsford, Glocestersh.
Cynet San Assault	Kenet	
Cyninges-clife	King's-cliff	Unknown, Northumb.
Cyppanham		Chippenham, Wiltsh.
Cyrenceaster	Ceres-city	
Cyricbyrig	Church-town	Cherbury, Shropsh.

D

Dæg-stan	Degfa's-stone	Dawston, Cumberland
S. David	St. David's	St. David's, Pembrokesh.
Deoraby	Deer's-place	Derby
Deorham	Deer's-home	Durham, Glocestersh.
Derawuda	Deer's-wood	Beverly, Yorksh.
Dodefthorp	Dod's-farm	Dostroy, Northamptonsh.
Domuc	Domuc	Dunwich, Suffolk
Doreceaster	Water-city	Dorchester, Oxfordsh.
Driffelda	Dry-field	Driffield, Yorksh.
Dunstaple	Hill-staple	Dunstable, Bedfordsh.
Dunholdm	Hill and valley	Durham
	alatina la lacon la	touche Selfie Co. S. Aven worth

Dunholdm	Hill and valley	Durham
E	arroyanay volthosalib estimation di	Republication of the Control of the
Eadefbyrig Eadmundefbyrig Eadulfes næffe Eaft Engle	Eades-town Edmund's-town Edulf's-point East England	Eddefbury, Chefh.  Bury, Suffolk Nefs, Effex Cambridgefh. Suffolk, Norfolk Eaft

#### Saxon Names.

East-Seaxe Egbrightes-stan Ege Egonesham Ellendun Elig Englafilda Englaland. Fofer-wic Efendic Eftun

Euesham

Exan-ceafter

Exan-muth

#### Meaning.

East Saxony Egbright's-stone The eye Egon's-home Strong-hill Eel-isle English-field English-land Urie-castle Efen's-dike East-town Eves's-home Ex-city Ex-mouth

### English Names.

Effex, &c. Brixton, Wiltsh. Eyre, Northamptonsh. -Ensham, Oxfordsh. Wilton, Wiltsh. Inglefield, Berks England York Affendike, Cambridgesh. Easton, Leicestersh. Evesham, Worcestersh. Exeter, Devonsh. Exmouth, Devonsh.

Fauresfeld Fearndun Fearnham Fenchamstede Folces-stan Fromuth Fullanham

## Fore-field Fern-hill

Fern-place Army-field Fincham's-stead People's-stone Froom-mouth Foul-town

# Feversham, Kent

Farringdon, Berks Farnham, Surrey Frithern, Glocestersh. Finchamsted, Berks Folkston, Kent Pool, Dorfetsh. Fulham, Middlefex

Camelford, Cornwall

Peterburrow

Gainsburrow, Lincolnsh.

Gillingham, Dorfetsh.

Glaffenbury, Somerfetsh.

Gaful-ford Gegnesburgh Gildeneburgh Gillingaham Glastingbyri Grantebridge Grena-wic Gypes-wich

## Toll-ford Tribe's-town Gilded-town Glass-town

Gillings-home Grant's-bridge Green-town Gipping's-town

Cambridge Greenwich, Kent Ipswich, Suffolk

Hefe Hestingas Hagustaldesham Ham-tun Hamtun-scyre Heamstide Hean-byrig Heat-fild Hengestesdun Hengist's-hill

# High

Danish-town Heftild-town Home-town Home-town-division Home-stede Poor-town Hot-field

#### Heifild

Haftings, Suffex Hexham, Northum. Northampton, Southampton Hampshire Hamfted, Berks Swineshead, Hunt. Hatfield, Hertfordfh. Hengstonhill, Cornw.

Heort.

Samon	Names.
DUNUIL	TA COLLEGE

Heort-ford Heortford-scyre Here-ford Hereford-scyre

Hethfild Hlida-ford Hocneratun Hreopan-dun

Hrippun Hrofes-ceaster Humber Hundhoge Huntendune

Huntendune-scyre Hweallæge Hwerewille Hwit-cerc Hwiterne

Hyrtlingberi

Hythe

#### Meaning.

Hart's-ford Hart's-ford-division Hertfordsh. Army's-ford

High-field Lid's-ford Hocneratown Crying-hill

Harvest-town Covered-caftle Humber Hounds-house

Hunters-downs. Hunters-down-division Huntingtonsh. Whale-ifle Whirl-well

White-church White-place Farmers-town

Haven

Icanhoe

Empty

Island-field

Ircing's-field

### English Names.

Hertford Hereford Army's-ford-division Herefordsh.

Hatfield, Yorksh. Lidford, Devonsh. Hogfnorton, Oxfordsh. Repton, Derbysh. Rippon, Yorksh. Rochester, Kent River Humber

Huncot, Leicestersh. Huntington

Whaley, Lancashire Whorwell, Hampsh. White-church, Hampsh. Whittern, Gallaway Irtlington, Northampt.

Hyth, Kent

Idle Iglea . Ircingafild

K

Kyntlingtun -

Lambhythe Lægeceafter Legerceaster Lægreceasterscyre Licetfild Liga Ligtun Limenemuth Lincolne Lincolnescyre

Lindesfarna ea Lindefige Lothene Army-province

Clay-haven Legion-city

Leire-city Leire-city-division Corps-field Liga Lame-town Lime-mouth Lake-colony Lake-colony-division Lind-people's-ifle Marsh-isle

Boston, Lincolnsh. Rivulet Idle, Nottinghamsh.

Unknown Archinfield, Herefordsh.

Ketering Kettering, Northampt. Kyntling's-town Kirtlington, Oxfordsh.

> Lambeth, Surry West-Ceste Leicester Leicestershire Litchfield, Staffordsh. The River Lea. Leighton, Bedfordsh. Lime, Kent Lincoln Lincolnshire Holy-island

Lindsey, Lincolnsh. Lothian, Scotland

Lundine

Saxon Names.	Meaning.	English Names.
Lundine	ALLOW DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY	London
Legeanburh	Lea-town	Leighton, Bedfordsh.
210800000000000000000000000000000000000	COMPANIES TO THE PARTY OF THE P	al last Control and and and
M	The second second	Pounceleber 1 Company
Mældun	Crofs-hill	Maldon, Effex
Mænige myden (1)	Man-island	Anglefey
Mærlebeorge	Marle-town	Marlborough, Wiltsh.
Malveifin Malveifin		Bamborow-caftle
Manigceaster War		Manchester, Lancash.
Maferfild		Ofwiftre, Shropsh.
Mealdelmefbyrig	Maildelm's-town	Malmfbury, Wiltsh.
Medeshamstede	Whirlepool-place	Peterburg, Northamptonsh.
Medigwæg	Fair-river	Peterburg, Northamptonsh. River Medway Merton, Surry
Merantun	Mire-town	Merton, Surry
Merefige	March-ifland	Marfey, Effex
Michaelstow	Michael's-place	St. Michael's-mount, Cornw.
Middel-Anglas		Warwicksh., Staffordsh., &c.
Middel-Seaxe	Middle-Saxony	Middlefex
Middle-tun francisco	Middle-town	Middleton, Effex
Muntgumni	Gomer's-mount	PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF TH
		Rumenge, Koomer
N	ALL STREET, ST	
Næffe	The point	Nefs-point, Kent
Natanleag	Natan's-field	
Nen	Nen jio	River Nen, Northampt.
S. Neod		St. Neot's, Huntingdonsh.
Northburh		Norbury, Northampt.
North-folc		Norfolk
Northumtun		Northampton
North-muth	4 4 4 4 4 4	
Northan-hymbras		
Northan-hymbra-land		2
North-wealas	North-Welfh	People of North-Wales
North-wic		Norwich
	mostka o	Soletren
0	rs bome Sample	Sample Share at a Semester
Olan-ege	Olan's-island	
		Orford, Kent
Oxnaford		Oxford The American
Oxnafordícyre		
	O MOII O-TOT G-GIVINON	TO A SOLO SOLO SOLO SOLO SOLO SOLO SOLO S
P	and the same of th	Seminoral Comments
Paffanham	Paffan's-home	Pasham, Northampt.
Pastun	Pafs-town	Paston, Northampt.
Peaclond	The state of the s	The Peak, Derbysh.
Vallet No. of Control	- AND	Pedridar.

#### Saxon Names.

Pedridan Pen-wight-street Peonho Pevenesea Perfeora Pencanheal Porteloca Portefmouth

Pruntesflod

## Meaning.

Pedridan Head-heel Peven-fea Pers-Ihore Pencan's-hall The Port Harbour-bar

## English Names.

Parret-river, Somerfetsh. Head-island-point The Land's-end, Cornw. Pen. Somerfetsh. Pemfey, Suffex Pershore, Worcestersh. Finkley, Durham Portland, Dorfetsh. Portlock-bay, Somerfetsh. Harbour's-mouth Portfmouth, Hampsh. Possentesbyrig Possent's-town Pontesbury, Shropsh. Privet's-flood Prevet, Hampsh.

Raculf Reading Rogingham Rugenore Rumcofa Rumenfea Rumefige

# Roe's-cliff

Roomy-island

## Reculver, Kent Flint-meadows Reading, Berksh. Rough-hall Ryall, Rutlandsh.

Roging's-home. Rockingham, Northampt. Rugged-shore Rowner, Hampsh. Roomy-cave Runkhorn, Chesh. Spacious-fea Rumney, Kent Rumsey, Hampsh.

Sæferne Sandwic Scæftesbyrig Sceapige .... Sceobyrig Sceraburn . Scotland Scrobbefby Sealwudu Searbyrig Sec-candun Seletun Sempigaham Sliowaford Snawdun Snotingaham Snotingaham-fcyre Cave-town-division Soccabyrig Stæfford Stæfford-feyre Stanford

### Sea-flowing Sandy-port Shaft's-town Sheep's-ifland Shoe town Clear-burn 1-5 Scotch-land Shrub-town Sharp-river-town Battle-hill Seal-town Sempiga's-home Sliowa's-ford Snow-hill Cave town Soke-town Staff-ford

Staff-ford-division

Stone

Stone-ford

River Severn Sandwich, Kent Shaftesbury, Dorsetsh. Sheppey, Kent Shobery, Effex Sherburn, Dorfetsh. Scotland Shroefbury Willow-wood Selwood, Somersetsh. Salifbury, Wiltsh. Seckington, Warwicksh. Silton, Yorksh. Sempringham, Lincolnsh. Sleaford, Lincolnfh. Snowdon hills Nottingham Nottinghamshire . Stocburn, Durham Stafford Staffordshire Stains, Middlesex Stamford, Lincolnsh.

Saxon Names.	Meaning.	English Names.
Stanfordesbryege	Stone-ford-bridge	Stamford-bridge
Stanwic	Stone-town	Stanwixs, Northampt.
Streonsheale	Beacon-bay	Whitby, Yorksh.
Stretford	Street-ford	Stratford, Warwicksh.
Sturemuth	Stour-mouth	Harwich
Sumurtun	Summer-town	Sumerton, Somerfetsh.
Sumerfetfcyre	Summer-feat-division	Somerfetshire
Suthberi	South-town	Sudbury, Suffolk
Suth-folc	South-people	Suffolk
Suthrig W. W. Andrew	South-river-country	Surry abovened W.
Suth-Seaxe	South-Saxony	Surry and Suffolk
Swanwic	Swaine-town	Swanwick, Hampsh.
Swineshæfed	Swine's-head	Swineshead, Huntingdonsh.

CONTRACTOR OF THE PERSON	MINIST THE PARTY OF THE PARTY O
Tamanweorthege	Tame-farm-iflan
Tame	Tame
Tantun	Twig-town
Temefe	Water-tract
Temesford	Thames-ford
Tenet	Tenet
Thælwæle	Stake-wall
Theodford	People's-ford
Thorneic	Thorny-ifle
Thorp	The village
Trokenholt	Drag-boat wood
Tina	Tina
Tinamuth.	Tina's-mouth
Tofceafter	Tof-caftle
Tonebridge	Town-bridge
Treonta	Crooked-river

Tamworth, Staffordsh. Tame, Oxfordsh. Taunton, Somersetsh. The river Thames Temsford, Bedfordsh. The isle of Thanet, Kent Thelwell, Chesh. Thetford Thorney, Cambridgesh. Thorpe, Northamptonsk. Trokenhole, Cambridgesh. River Tyne, Northumb. Tinmouth, Northumb. Toceter, Northampt. Tunbridge, Kent The river Trent Torkfey Christ-church, Hampsh.

U	
Undale	Undivided
Ufa	Water
ANTICH VOT SAL	

Oundle, Northampt. River Oufe

W
Wærham
Wæringwic
Wæringscyre
Wætlingstræt
Waltun
Wealingford

Turcefige

Tweonea

Inclosed-town Fortified-town Fortified-town-division Warwickshire Beggars-street Wall-town

Boat-island

Wall-ford

Two-burn-town

Warham, Dorsetsh. Warwick Watling-street Walton, Northampt. Wallingford, Berksh.

Wealtham

#### Saxon Names.

Wealtham Weardbyrig Wecedport Welmesfort Weolud Wermingtun Westmoringland Westmynster West-Seaxe Westanwudu Wetmor Webbandun Wegeraceaster Wegeraceasterscyre Wegengamere Wihtland Wihtgarabyrig Wiltun . Wiltonfcyre Windlefora Wintanceaster Winmidfild Wirhealc Wifebec Witham Withringtun Witlefmere Wodnesbeorge Wudestoke Wudiham

Wippedsfloot

formation (Northwene)

#### Meaning.

Wood-town Guard-town Weced's-harbour Sole-foot-ford Weolud Warm-town West-mountain-land West-monastery West Saxon Western wood Wet-moor Worm-hill War-caftle War-caftle-division War-mere Creature-land Wightgar's-town Willow-town Willow-town-division Winding-shore Venta castle Victory-field Myrtle-corner Wife-book Near-town Withring's-town Wittlesey-mere Woden's-town Wood-place Woody-town

Wipped's-frith

English Names. Unknown Wardborow, Oxfordsh. Watchet, Somerfetsh. Walmsford, Northampt. River Welland Warmington, Northampt. Westmorland Westminster Kingdom of Wessex Westwood, Wiltsh. Wedmore, Somerfetsh. Wimbletun, Surry Worcester Worcestershire Wigmore, Herefordsh. Isle of Wight Carefbrook-caftle Wilton, Wiltsh. Wiltshire Windfor Winchester Near Leeds Wirral, Chesh. Wifbech Witham, Effex Wirrington, Northampt. Withfmere, Cambridgesh. Wodensburgh, Wiltsh. Woodstock, Oxfordsh.

Odiam, Hampsh.

Westingstruct

Wippedsfleet, Kent.

No. III.

Mo, Mil. o For II a Steeman Road any think taling a mischiolagnia it vega

#### NUMBER III.

A fpecimen of the most ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, translated from the original Saxon into English \*.

The laws of Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 561 to A. D. 616.

1. T ET facrilege be compensated twelvefold; the theft of the goods of a bishop, elevenfold; of the goods of a priest, ninefold; of those of a deacon, fixfold; of those of a clerk, threefold; the violation of the peace of a church, twofold; and that of a monastery, twofold.

2. If the king call an affembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid twofold, and fifty shillings be paid to the king.

3. If the king is at an entertainment in any one's house, and any damage be done there, let it be compenfated twofold.

4. If a freeman steal any thing from the king, let him compensate it ninefold.

5. Let him that killeth a man in the city of the king be amerced in fifty shillings.

6. Let him that killeth a freeman pay fifty shillings to the king for his loss of a subject.

7. If any one kill the fervants of the king's masterfmiths or butler, let him pay the ordinary mulct.

8. Let he violation of the king's patronage be compenfated with fifty shillings.

\* See the original Saxon, with a Latin translation and notes, in Wilkin. Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 1-7. o. If

No. III.

- 9. If a freeman fteal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it threefold; let a mulct be imposed, and all his goods confiscated to the king.
- 10. If a man lie with the king's maid-fervant, being a virgin, let him compensate her virginity with fifty shillings.
- 11. If she be a grinding-maid, let the compensation be twenty-five shillings; if of the third rank, twelve.
- 12. Let the violation of the chastity of the king's victualling-maid be compensated with twenty shillings.
- 13. Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl be amerced in twelve shillings.
- 14. If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cupbearer, let him compensate her virginity with twelve shillings.

15. Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be compensated with fix shillings.

- 16. Be the violation of the chastity of a maid that is a yeoman's cup-bearer compensated with fix shillings; that of a yeoman's other maid-servant, with fifty scatas; and of those of the third rank, thirty scatas.
- 17. Let him that first breaketh into another man's house be amerced in six shillings, the second in three shillings, and each of the rest in one shilling.
- 18. If any one lend a man arms where there is a quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be amerced in fix shillings.

19. If a robbery be committed, be it compensated with fix shillings.

20. But if a man be killed, let the murderer compenfate his death with twenty shillings.

21. If a man kill another, be the ordinary mulct of an hundred shillings imposed upon him.

22. If a man kill another at an open grave, let him compensate his death with twenty shillings, besides the ordinary mulch, which he must pay within forty days.

23. If

23. If the homicide fly his country, let his relations No. III. pay half the ordinary mulct.

24. Let him that bindeth a freeman make a compensa-

tion of twenty shillings.

25. Let the murderer of a yeoman's guest compensate his death with six shillings.

26. But if the landlord killeth his chief guest, let him compensate his death with eighty shillings.

27. If he kills the fecond, let him make a compensation of fixty shillings; if the third, of forty.

28. If a freeman cut down a hedge, let him make a compensation of fix shillings.

29. If a man take away a thing kept within a house, let him compensate it threefold.

30. If a freeman break over a hedge, let him make a compensation of four shillings.

31. Let him that killeth a man make compensation, according to the true valuation, in current money.

32. If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, let him make amends for his crime, by buying another wife for the injured party.

33. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him

compensate the same.

34. If he catches him by the hair, let him pay fifty fcætas.

35. If the bone appear, let him make a compensation of three shillings.

36. If the bone be hurt, let him make a compensation of four shillings.

37. If the bone be broke, let him make a compensation of ten shillings.

38. If both be done, let him make a compensation of twenty shillings.

39. If the shoulder be lamed, be it compensated with twenty shillings.

40. If he is made deaf of an ear, let twenty-five shillings compensate it. No. III.

- 41. If the ear be cut off, be it compensated with twelve shillings.
- 42. If the ear be bored through, let three shillings be the compensation.
- 43. If the ear be clipped off, be fix shillings the compensation.
- 44. If the eye be struck out, let fifty shillings compensate it.
- 45. If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve shillings make a compensation.
- 46. If the nose be bored through, let nine shillings be the compensation.
- 47. If but one membrane is bored, be three shillings the compensation.
- 48. If both, be fix shillings the compensation.
- 49. If both nostrils are slit, let each be compensated by fix shillings.
  - 50. If bored, by fix shillings.
- 51. Let him that cutteth off the chin-bone make a compensation of twenty shillings.
- 52. For each of the four fore-teeth be compensated fix shillings; for the one that stands next, four shillings; for the next, three shillings; and for each of the rest, one shilling: if it be an impediment to his speech, be twelve shillings compensated; and if the jaw-bone be broke, fix shillings.
- 53. Be the bruifing of a man's arm compensated with fix shillings, and the breaking of it with fix shillings.
- 54. If the thumb be cut off, let it be compensated with twenty shillings; the nail of the thumb, with three shillings; the fore-finger, with eight shillings; the midfinger, with four shillings; the ring singer, with six shillings; the little singer, with eleven shillings.
- 55. For each nail, a shilling.

II The

56. For the least blemish, three shillings; and for greater ones, six shillings.

M. 75 ompeniate it.

AOT TOA

- 57. If any one give another a blow on the nose with No. III. his fift, three shillings.
  - 58. If it be wounded, one shilling.
- 59. If the stroke be black without the clothes, let it be compensated with thirty scatas; if within the clothes, with twenty scatas.
- 60. If the diaphragm be wounded, let it be compenfated by twelve shillings, if bored, by twenty.
- 61. If one is made to halt, let it be compensated by thirty shillings.
- 62. If one wound the callus, let thirty shillings be the recompence.
- 63. If a man's privy member be cut off, let it be compensated by thrice the ordinary mulc; if it is bored, by fix shillings; if cut, by fix shillings.
- 64. If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve shillings be the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.
- 65. If a rib be broke, let it be compensated with three shillings.
- 66. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid fix shillings; if it be an inch deep, one shilling; if two inches, two shillings; if above three inches, three shillings.
- 67. If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compensated with three shillings.
  - 68. If the foot be cut off, with fifty shillings.
  - 69. If the great toe be cut off, with ten shillings.
- 70. For each of the rest of the toes, be paid half the price, as is enacted of the singers.
- 71. Let thirty scatas compensate the nail of the great toe, and ten scatas each of the rest.
- 72. If a free-woman, wearing her hair, do any thing dishonourable, let her compensate it by thirty shillings.
- 73. Let the compensation of a virgin be the same as that of a freeman.

No.III.

- 74. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family be compensated by fifty shillings; of the next, with twenty; of the third, by twelve; and of the fourth, by six.
- 75. If a man marry a widow who is not at her own disposal, let him twice compensate the violated patronage.
- 76. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her thand for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaser's money restored him.
- 77. If the bring forth any live iffue, let her have half of the man's goods, if he die first.
- 78. If the has a mind to depart with her children, let her have the half of his estate.
- 79. If the husband will keep his goods, he must keep his children.
- 80. If the have no iffue, let her relations have the goods and the dowry.
- 81. If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty shillings to her first master, and afterwards redeem her, according to his pleasure.

82. If the be before betrothed to another, let him make a recompence of twenty shillings.

83. If the be with child, let him pay thirty-five thillings, and fifteen thillings to the king.

84. If a man lie with the wife of a fervant, while her husband is alive, let him make a double recompence.

85. If a flave kill another flave, being innocent, let him compensate his death with all his substance.

86. If a fervant's eye and foot be ftruck off, let it be compenfated.

87. If a man bind another's fervant, let him make a recompence of fix shillings.

88. Let the robbing of a fervant be compensated with three shillings.

89. If a fervant steal any thing, let him restore the No. III.

#### NUMBER IV.

Catalogue, Latin and English, of the works of Venerable Bede, printed at Cologne, A.D. 1612, in eight volumes folio\*.

# VOLUME FIRST contains,

The rudiments of the grammatical art, according to Donatus.

No. IV.

- 2. De octo partibus orationis, liber.

  Of the eight parts of speech, one book.
- 3. De arte metrica, liber.

  Of the metrical art, one book.
- 4. De scematibus scripturæ, liber.

  Of the figures in scripture, one book.
- 5. De tropis facræ scripturæ, liber.

  Of the tropes in holy scripture, one book.
- 6. De orthographia, liber. Of orthography, one book.
- 7. De arithmeticis numeris, liber. Of arithmetical numbers, one book.
- 8. De computo, dialogus. Of computation, a dialogue.
- 9. De devisionibus temporum, liber. Of the divisions of time, one book.

10. De

<sup>\*</sup> I have taken the catalogue of Bede's works from the Cologne edition of A.D. 1612, because it is the only complete one I have had an opportunity of consulting.

- 10. De arithmeticis propositionibus.

  Of arithmetical propositions.
- 11. De ratione calculi.

  Of the ratio of calculation.
- 12. De numerorum divisione.

  Of the division of numbers.
- 13. De loquela per gestum digitorum, libellus.

  Of speaking by the motion of the fingers, a small book.
- 14. De ratione unciarum, libellus.

  Of the ratio of ounces, a fmall book.
- 15. De argumentis lunæ.

  An argument concerning the moon.
- 16. Ephemeris, five computus vulgaris.

  The ephemeris, or vulgar computation.
- 17. De embolismorum ratione computus. The ratio of calculating intercalations.
- 18. Decennovenales circuli.

  Of the cycle of nineteen years.
- 19. De cyclo paschali.

  Of the paschal cycle.
- 20. De mundi cœlestis terrestrisque constitutione, liber.

  Of the constitution of the celestial and terrestrial world,

  one book.
- 21. De musica theorica.

  Of theoretical music.
- 22. De musica quadrata, seu mensurata.

  Of the quadrature, or mensuration of musick.
- 23. De circulis sphæræ et poli.

  Of the circles of the sphere and pole.
- 24. De planetarum et signorum cœlestium ratione.

  Of the ratio of the planetary and celestial signs.
- 25. De tonitruis, libellus.

  Of thunder, a small book.

- 26. Prognostica temporum.

  Prognostics of the feasons.
- 27. De mensura horologii, libellus.

  Of the mensuration of a sun-dial, a small book.
- 28. De astrolabio, libellus.

  Of the astrolabe, a small book.
- 29. De nativitate infantium, libellus.

  Of the nativity of infants, a fmall book.
- 30. De minutione fanguinis, libellus. Of blood-letting, a fmall book.
- 31. De septem mundi miraculis, libellus.

  Of the seven wonders of the world, a small book.
- 32. Hymni. Hymns.
- 33. De ratione computi, libellus.

  Of the ratio of computation, a small book.

# VOLUME SECOND contains,

- 34. De natura rerum, liber.

  Of the nature of things, one book.
- 35. De temporum ratione, liber.

  Of the ratio of times, one book.
- 36. De sex atatibus mundi, sive chronica, libellus.

  Of the six ages of the world, a chronicle, a small book.
- 37. De temporibus, liber.

  Of times, one book.
- 38. Sententiæ ex Aristotele. . . Sentences out of Aristotle.
- 39. Sententiæ ex Cicerone, sive axiomata philosophica.

  Sentences out of Cicero, or philosophical axioms.
- 40. Proverbiorum, liber. Of proverbs, one book.

41. De

Co. Vice Dr. Aredier con

No. IV. 41. De substantiis. Of substances.

- 42. Περὶ διδαξεων, five elementorum philosophiæ, libri quatuor.
  - Of doctrines, or the philosophy of elements, four books.
- 43. De Paschæ celebratione, sive de æquinoctio vernali, liber.
  - Of the celebration of Easter, or of the vernal equinox, one book.
- 44. De divinatione mortis et vitæ, epistola.

  Of the foretelling of life and death, an epistle.
- 45. De arca Noe. Of Noah's ark.
- 46. De linguis gentium.

  Of the languages of nations.
- 47. Sibyllina oracula. Sybilline oracles.

# VOLUME THIRD contains,

- 48. Gentis Anglorum ecclesiastica historia, libri quinque. The ecclesiastical history of the English nation, sive books.
- 49. Epitome ejusdem historiæ.

  Abridgment of the same history.
- 50. Vita D. Cuthberti.

  The life of St. Guthbert.
- 51. Vita D. Felicis.

  The life of St. Felix.
- 52. Vita D. Vedasti.

  The life of St. Vedast.
- 53. Vita de Columbani.

  The life of St. Columban.
- 54. Vita D. Attalæ.

  The life of St. Attala.

55. Vita D. Patricii, libri duo.

The life of St. Patrick, two books.

No. IV.

- 56. Vita D. Eustasii.

  The life of St. Eustatius.
- 57. Vita D. Bertolfi.

  The life of St. Bertolf.
- 58. Vita D. Arnolfi.

  The life of St. Arnolf.
- Vita D. Burgundoforæ.
   The life of St. Burgundoforæ.
- 60. Justini martyrium, carmine.

  The martyrdom of Justin, a poem.
- 61. Martyrologium.

  A martyrology.
- 62. De fitu urbis Hierusalem.

  Of the situation of the city of Jerusalem.
- 63. Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum et Græcorum in Sacris Bibliis.

An interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek names in the Holy Bible.

64. Excerptiones et collectanea quædam. Certain excerpts and collections.

# VOLUME FOURTH contains,

- On the fix days creation.
- 66. In Genefin expositio.

  Explanation of Genesis.
- 67. In Exodum explanatio.

  Explanation of Exodus.
- 68. In Leviticum explanatio.

  Explanation of Leviticus.
- 69. In librum Numeri explanatio.

  Explanation of the book of Numbers.

No. IV. 70. In Deuteronomium explanatio.

Explanation of Deuteronomy.

- 71. In Samuelum prophetam allegorica expositio, libri quatuor.
  - An allegorical explanation of the prophet Samuel, four books.
- 72. In libros Regum quæstiones.

  Questions on the books of Kings.
- 73. In Efdram et Neemiam prophetam, allegorica expofitio, libri tres.
  - An allegorical explanation of the prophets Esdras and Nehemiah, three books.
- 74. In librum Tobiæ expositio allegorica.

  An allegorical explanation of the book of Tobit.
- 75. In Johum expositio, libri tres. Explanation of Job, three books.
- 76. In Parabolas Salomonis expositio, libri tres.

  Explanation of the Proverbs of Salomon, three books.
- 77. In Cantica Canticorum expositio, libri septem.

  Explanation of the Song of Songs, seven books.
- 78. De tabernaculo et vasis ejus, ac vestibus sacerdotum, libri duo.
  - Of the tabernacle and its utenfils, and of the vestments of the priests, two books.

# Volume Fifth contains, managed .30

- 79. In Matthæum expositio, libri quatuor. Exposition on St. Matthew, four books.
- 80. In Marcum expositio, libri quatuor. Exposition on St. Mark, four books.
- 81. In Lucam expositio, libri fex. Exposition on St. Luke, six books.
- 82. In Joannem expositio.

  Exposition on St. John.

al or

60. In library Numeri cx

83. In Acta Apostolorum expositio.

Exposition on the Acts of the Apostles.

- No. IV.
- 84. De nominibus locorum vel civitatum, quæ in libro Actuum Apostolorum leguntur.

  Of the names of places and cities mentioned in the Acts of
  - the Apostles.

    In D. Jacobi epistolam expositio.
- 85. In D. Jacobi epistolam expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. James.
- 86. In primam D. Petri epistolam expositio. Exposition on the first episte of St. Peter.
- 87. In fecundam ejusdem epistolam expositio.

  Exposition on the second episte of the same.
- 88. In primam B. Joannis epistolam expositio.

  Exposition on the first epistle of St. John.
- 89. In secundam ejusdem epistolam expositio.

  Exposition on the second epistle of the same.
- 90. In tertiam ejuschem epistolam expositio.

  Exposition on the third epistle of the same.
- 91. In epistolam Judæ Apostoli expositio. Exposition on the epistle of St. Jude.
- 92. In Apocalypsim Joannis Apostoli explanatio.

  Exposition on the Revelations of St. John.

# VOLUME SIXTH contains,

- 93. Retractationes in Actus Apostolorum.
  Retractations on the Acts of the Apostles.
- 94. Quæstiones in Acta Apostolorum, sex. Six questions on the Acts of the Apostles.

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- 95. In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.
- 96. In epistolam Pauli priorem ad Corinthios, expositio.

  Exposition on the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

- 97. In epistolam Pauli posteriorem ad Corinthios, expositio.
  - Exposition on the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corin thians.
- 98. In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.
- 99. In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians.
- 100. In epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians.
- 101. In epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians.
- 102. In epistolam Pauli in priorem ad Theffalonicenses, expositio.
  - Exposition on the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.
- 103. In epiftolam Pauli posteriorem ad Thessalonicenses, expositio.
  - Exposition on the second epistle of St. Paul to the Theffalonians.
- 104. In epistolam Pauli primam ad Timotheum, expositio.

  Exposition on the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy.
- 105. In epistolam Pauli secundam ad Timotheum, expositio.
  - Exposition on the second epistle of St. Paul to Ti-
- 106. In epistolam Pauli ad Titum, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to Titus.
- 107. In epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem, expositio. Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to Philemon.
- 108. In epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos, expositio.

  Exposition on the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews.
- 109. Aniani epistola ad Evangelum, presbyterum. Epistle of Anianus to Evangelus, a presbyter.

110. Joannis

Apostoli.

No. IV.

Epistle of John Chrysostom, in praise of the blessed Apostle Paul.

# VOLUME SEVENTH contains,

- 111. Homiliæ æstivales de tempore, triginta tres.

  Thirty-three summer-homilies for the seasons.
- 112. Homiliæ æstivales de sanctis, triginta duæ. Thirty-two summer-homilies on the saints.
- 113. Homiliæ hyemales de tempore, quindecim. Fifteen winter-homilies for the feasons.
- 114. Homiliæ quadragesimales, viginti duæ. Twenty-two homilies for Lent.
- 115. Homiliæ hyemales de fanctis, sedecim. Sixteen winter-homilies on the faints.
- 116. Sermones ad populum varii.

  Sundry fermons to the people.
- 117. Scintillæ, five loci communes. Sparks, or common places.
- 118. De muliere forti, libellus.

  Of the strong woman, a small book.
- 119. De officiis, libellus.

  Of morals or duties, a small book.
- 120. Fragmenta quædam in Libros Sapientales, et Psalteri versus aliquot.

Fragments on the Book of Wisdom, and some verses of the Psalms.

# VOLUME EIGHTH contains,

- Of the temple of Solomon, one book.
- 122. De fex dierum creatione, liber.

  Of the fix days creation, one book.

123. Quæi

- 123. Quæstiones super Genesim. Questions on Genesis.
- 124. Quæstiones super Exodum. Questions on Exodus.
- 125. Quæstiones super Leviticum. Questions on Leviticus.
- 126. Quæstiones super librum Numeri. Questions on Numbers.
- 127. Quæstiones super Deuteronomium. Questions on Deuteronomy.
- 128. Quæftiones fuper librum Jesu Nave. Queftions on Joshua.
- 129. Quæftiones fuper librum Judicum. Queftions on Judges.
- 130. Quæstiones super librum Ruth. Questions on Ruth.
- 131. Quæstiones super quatuor libros Regum. Questions on the four books of Kings.
- 132. Quæstionum variarum, liber. Of various questions, one book.
- 133. In Pfalmorum librum commentaria.

  Commentaries on the book of Pfalms.
- 134. Vocabulorum Pfalterii expositio.

  Exposition of the words of the Pfalms.
- 135. Sermo de eo, quod in Pfalmis legitur, "Dominus de cœlo profpexit," &c.
  - A sermon on this passage in the Pfalms, " The Lord looked down from heaven."
- 136. In Boethii librum de Trinitate, commentarius.

  Commentary on the book of Boethius on the Trinity.
- 137. De septem verbis Christi, oratio.

  An oration on the seven words of Christ.
- 138. Meditationes passionis Christi per septem diei horas.

  Meditations on Christ's passion, for seven hours of the day.

139. De remediis peccatorum.

Of the remedies of fins.

No. IV.

Beda, besides all the above works, was the author of feveral other tracts which have been published, and of fome which are still in MS.\* This sufficiently proves, that, considering the times in which he slourished, and the manifold disadvantages under which he laboured, he was one of the most studious and ingenious men that this island ever produced.

\* See Biographia Britannica, t. 1. p. 651, 652.

#### NUMBER V.

The Lord's Prayer, in the Anglo-Saxon and other kindred languages, derived from the ancient Gothic or Teutonic.

# 1. Anglo-Saxon.

No. V.

UREN Fader thic arth in Heofnas. 1. Sie gehalgud thin Noma: 2. To cymeth then Ryc. 3. Sie thin Willa sue is in Heofnas, and in Eortho. 4. Uren Hlaf oferwistlic sel us to daeg. 5. And forgese us Scylda urna, sue we forgesan Scyldgum urum. 6. And no inlead usig in Custnung. 7. Ah gesrig usich from Isle. Amen.

# shisw and a 2. Franco-Theorisc.

Fater unfer thu thar bist in Himile. 1. Si geheilagot thin Namo. 2. Queme thin Rihhi. 3. Si thin Willo, so her in Himile est o si her in Erdu. 4. Unfar Brot tagalihhaz gib uns huitu. 5. Inti surlaz uns nusara Sculdi so unir surlazames unsaron Sculdigon. 6. Inti ni gileitest unsih in Costunga. 7. Uzouh arlosi unsi son Ubile. Amen.

3. CIMBRIC

#### 3. CIMBRIC.

Fader uor fom est i Himlum. 1. Halgad warde thitt Nama. 2. Tilkomme thitt Rikie. 3. Skie thin Ville, so som i Hammalam, so och po Iordanné. 4. Wort dachlicha Brodh gif os i dagh. 5. Ogh forlat os uora Sculdar, so som ogh vi forlate them os Skildighe are. 6. Ogh inled os ikkie i Frestal fan. 7. Utan frels os isra Ondo. Amen.

# 4. BELGIC.

Onse Vader die daer zijt in de Hemelen. 1. Uwen Naem worde gheheylight. 2. U Rijcke kome. 3. Uwen Wille gheschiede op der Aerden, geljick in den Hemel. 4. Onse dagelijckt Broodt gheeft ons heden. 5. Ende vergheeft ons onse Schulden, ghelijck wyoock onse Schuldenaren vergeven. 6. Ende en leyt ons niet in Versoeckinge. 7. Maer verlost ons vanden Boosen. Amen.

# 5. FRISIC.

Ws Haita duu derstu biste yne Hymil. 1. Dyn Name wird heiligt. 2. Dyn Rick tokomme. 3. Dyn Wille moet schoen, opt Yrtryck as yne Hymile. 4. Ws deilix Bræ jov ws jwed. 5. In verjou ws, ws Schylden, as wy vejac ws Schyldnirs. 6. In lied ws nact in Versieking. 7. Din fry us vin it Quæd. Amen.

# 6. HIGH-DUTCH.

Unser Vater in dem Himmel. 1. Dien Name werde geheiliget. 2. Dien Reich komme. 3. Dein Wille geschehe auf Erden, wie im Himmel. 4. Unser taeglich Brodt gib uns heute. 5. Und vergib uns unsere Schulden, wie wir unsern Schuldigern vergeben. 6. Und fuehre uns nicht in Versuchung. 7. Sondern erloese uns von dem Vbel. Amen.

2. CIMBRIO

# 7. SUEVIAN.

No. V.

Fatter ausar dear du bischt em Hemmal. 1. Gehoyliget wearde dain Nam. 2. Zuakomme dain Reych. 3. Dain Will gschea uff Earda as em Hemmal. 4. Ausar deglich Braud gib as huyt. 5. Und fergiab as ausre Schulda, wia wiar fergeaba ausarn Schuldigearn. 6. Und fuar as net ind Fersuaching. 7. Sondern erlais as som Ibal. Amen.

#### 8. Swiss.

Vatter unser, der du bist in Himlen. 1. Geheyligt werd dyn Nam. 2. Zukumm uns dijn Rijch. 3. Dyn Will geschahe, wie im Himmel, also auch uff Erden. 4. Gib uns hut unser taglich Brot. 5. Und vergib uns unsere Sculden, wie anch wir vergaben unsern Schuldneren. 6. Und suhr uns nicht in Versuchnyss. 7. Sunder erlos uns von dem Bosen. Amen.

# 9. ICELANDIC.

Fader vor thu som ert a Himnum. 1. Helgest thitt Nasn. 2. Tilkome thitt Riike. 3. Verde thinn Vilie, so a Jordu, sem a Himne. 4. Giess thu oss i dag vort daglegt Braud. 5. Og siergiess oss vorar Skulder, so sem vier sierergiesum vorum Skuldinautum. 6. Og inleid oss ecke i Freistne. 7. Heldr frelsa thu oss fra Illu. Amen.

# 10. NORWEGIAN.

Wor Fader du som est y Himmelen. 1. Gehailiget worde dit Nasn. 2. Tilkomma os Riga dit. 3. Din Wilia geskia paa Iorden, som handt er udi Himmelen. 4. Giff os y Dag wort dagliga Brouta. 5. Och sorlaet os wort Skioldt, som wy forlata wora Skioldon. 6. Och lad os icke homma voi Fristelse. 7. Man frals os fra Onet. Amen.

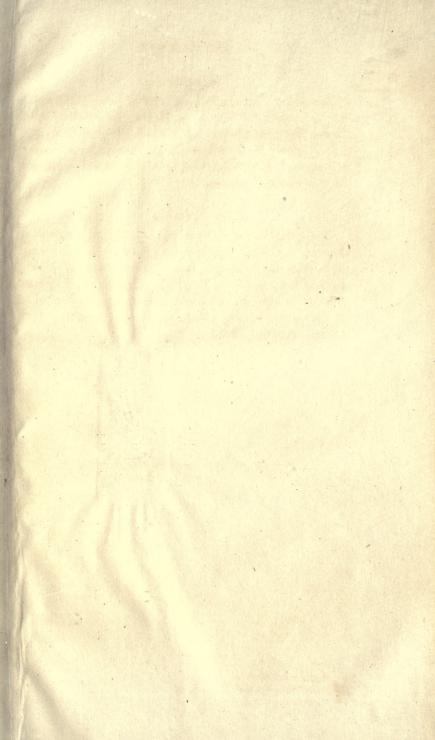
#### II. DANISH.

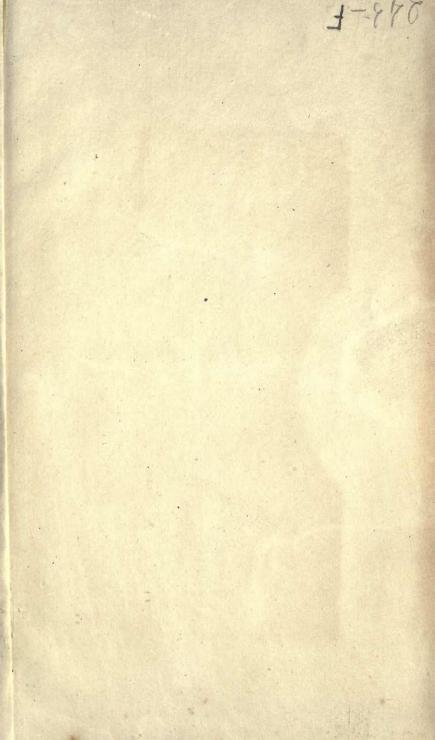
Vor Fader i Himmelen. 1. Helligt vorde dit Navn.
2. Tilkomme dit Rige. 3. Vorde din Villie, paa
Iorden fom i Hemmelen. 4. Giff ofs i Dag vort daglige
Bred. 5. Oc forlad ofs vor Skyld, fom wi forlade vore
Skyldener. 6. Oc leede ofs icke i Friftelse. 7. Men
frels os fra Ont. Amen.

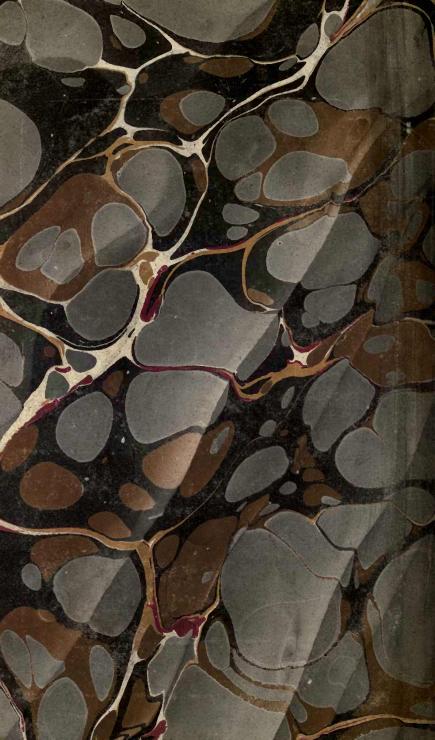
#### 12. SWEDISH.

Fader war som ast i Himmelen. 1. Helgat warde titt Nampn. 2. Till komme titt Ricke. 3. Skei tin Wilie saa paa Iordenne, som i Hemmelen. 4. Wart dagliga Brod giff os i Dagh. 5. Och sorlat os wara Saulder sa som ock wi sorlaten them os Skildege aro. 6. Och inleed os icke i Frestelse. Ut an srals os i fra Ondo. Amen.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.









Henry, Robert
The history of Great
Britain 5th ed.

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